THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

March 26, 1949

FEUDAL JUSTICE

AN EDITORIAL

Political Tides In Yunnan

Galahad Wood

Profile Of Ho Ying-chin

Background Of Burma Uprisings

Lin Wo-chiang

ERP CONTRADICTIONS

AN EDITORIAL

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

About Correspondents

To The Editor:

There has been much comment and "I told you so" on the Peiping ban on foreign correspondents. It is not the intention of this letter to criticize or defend the action, but it does seem to me that with things to come it might be advisable for our foreign journalist friends to endeavor to get accustomed to the fact that things are going to be different.

Leaving aside the spectre of iron or bamboo curtains being dropped, the plain fact is that the foreign correspondent, and in about 90 percent of the cases in China this means an American, is going to have to adopt a new attitude. No matter how capable and merely interested in fact finding he may be, the days are fast diminishing when this worthy individual can take it for granted that because he represents an important publication from across the Pacific, he is going to have every official and big shot swoon when he sends his calling card in. Simple as it may be, it is quite conceivable that in the near future Chinese reporters might even get to talk to their own officials before a foreign whizbang gets a swipe at the inside story.

When Sun Fo took office as Premier a short time ago it is known that he didn't have anything to say to Chinese reporters until after the foreign journalists had been seen. Now this may be a rather elementary approach, but the sad fact is that our foreign friends in the newsgathering profession operate on this level. While it would be unfair to accuse them of deliberately pushing aside Chinese reporters in their attempts to carry out their jobs, it can be said that the foreign correspondent seems to take it for granted that this is the way things must be. Whether this is done consciously or sub-consciously is not too important. The fact remains that they seem to take it as the most natural thing in the world for the foreign correspondent to have things pretty much his own way.

It is not easy to see the opposite taking place in Washington, for example. While the Government there does not go out of its way to make things difficult for foreign journalists stationed in America, it certainly does not give the news to American reporters last.

Only the future will tell us whether foreign journalists will be allowed to operate here or whether their publications will consider it worthwhile. But if they do continue, it is to be hoped that they will realize that, aside from all the outward changes they may see, there also will be a change in the attitude of the Chinese toward Chinese.

AURELIUS

Shanghai
March 20, 1949

Why The Red Trend?

To The Editor:

In spite of the suffering which we all endured during the last war, the French, the Dutch and the British are still pursuing colonialism in Asia; they still believe in a master society, one in which

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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the colored peoples are their slaves. America, our traditional friend, in violation of her own democratic principles, has more or less taken sides with these colonial powers. Does anyone really wonder, therefore, why Asia is going red?

China will never accept any extreme government. She will uphold the cause of liberty and equality. But the time has come when imperialism must be wiped off the face of the earth. Exploitation of mankind must end. Weeping over spilt milk, if we take the case of China in point, is of no use. Evolution is always better than revolution.

If America would use her power to halt communism, she must have a substitute—one that will satisfy the yearnings of the people—and I suggest "initiative socialism," whereby I mean liberty, equality and fraternity. Class distinctions must be eradicated; education for all the people must be free; the old must be cared for; the sick must be helped. If such a program were put into effect, the death knell of communism would ring. If such a policy is not put into execution immediately, the present conflagration will spread.

W. T. C.

Ho-foo, Hunan
March 5, 1949

Twin Tragedy

To The Editor:

The US should realize that the shortcomings of Soviet society do not justify its anti-Soviet campaign. I suggest that President Truman read Eugene Varga's book "Changes in the Economy of Capitalism," in which the author points out the feasibility and desirability of the peaceful co-existence of many economic and political systems in the postwar era. The author says that until the impoverished countries regain their pre-war production levels, which he estimates will take at least ten years, there will be no real crisis for capitalism.

It is unfortunate that those who make US foreign policy misread world developments and thus fail to realize that communism is only a manifestation of profound socio-economic need. China and the US have been acting an exquisite twin tragedy because the USA has overestimated her greatness, while China does not realize her greatness. Unless both countries are able to see farther than a rat (the Chinese proverb on this subject says that a rat can see only an inch ahead), both countries will bring about their own dooms.

CHINESE JOHN THE BATPIST.

Chengtu
March 12, 1949

War Preferable

To The Editor:

According to both the Chinese and foreign press, a large number of people supported Li Tsung-jen because of his readiness to open peace negotiations with the Communists. Actually, Li is ambitious and a war-monger. After a decree promulgated by Li releasing political prisoners and abolishing Communist suppression headquarters, there was no protest from other Government quarters. Then recently the *National Salvation Daily* was ordered to suspend publication for three days on charges of libeling the good name of Chiang Kai-shek.

From all this I understand that Li has no true intentions for peace. When he made an address to his officers in Canton he said he would imitate Hsueh Wang Kan Chien's (越王勾踐) act and word; it is therefore obvious that he will avenge himself and Nationalist China if the opportunity to retaliate falls to him.

Since the Communists were eager for peace and at once agreed to peace nego-

tiations, it is ppssible that they have been lured into a trap. Chiang Kai-shek's continued manipulation of both military and political factions means that he still controls the Government. I wonder whether Chiang has really been in "retirement" since January 21st, and how much presidential power he handed over to Li Tsung-jen.

On March 8th Sun Fo was subjected to severe attacks from the legislators and had to tender his resignation as President of the Executive Yuan because he had ordered the exodus of Government from Nanking and was charged with embezzlement of public funds during the evacuation. Now a new cabinet will be formed by Ho Ying-chin.

When Chang Chun arrived in Nanking from Yunnan Province a few days ago, a journalist asked how many native Communists there were in Yunnan. Chang replied that there were no native Communists—but there were bandits. From a political point of view, the Government still considers Communists as bandits. This indicates that the Government will continue to carry out so-called Communist-suppression instead of peace negotiations. The Kuomintang will hang on to the last.

Although we want democracy and a permanent peace, we don't want a premature and hypocritical peace under existing conditions. The revolutionists will never permit the Kuomintang to seek peace and prepare for war at the same time. Even though the people have suffered from 11 years of war, we should endure our last five minutes in order to achieve our revolutionary task. War is preferable to a peace really harmful to the people.

C. K. H.

Nihgpo, Chekiang
March 14, 1949

Intellectuals' Role

To The Editor:

Not long ago the Communist authorities in Peiping declared that the intellectuals of China should learn from the farmer and the worker.

This is obviously following in the footsteps of the Soviet. Is this proper for China?

China is different from the Soviet for the following reasons: 1) Our farmers and workers are uneducated, whereas in the Soviet Union they were educated or trained; 2) our methods of production and implements are ancient, but in the Soviet, knowledge and experience have improved methods.

I wonder what we can learn from our farmers and workers. These men labor from dawn to night and do not know how to improve their methods of production. I think the chief aim of our intellectuals is to help our farmers and workers; only when we offer our knowledge to improve their production will China become modernized.

H. S. LIU

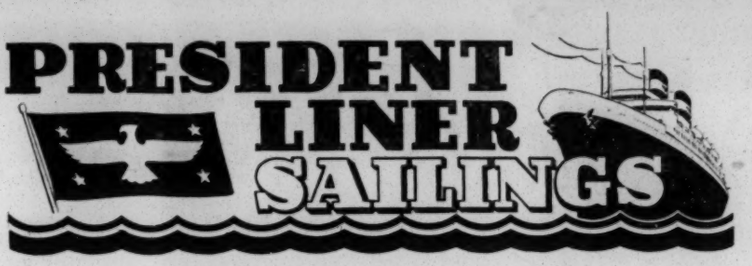
Chengtu, Szechuen
March 17, 1949

Decision By Ballot

To The Editor:

At the present stage of the civil war, China is roughly divided into two spheres of military powers. There is now an excellent chance for both political parties to substitute slogans, propaganda, and party political platforms for cannons and bullets, as is usually done in other civilized countries.

Let the Communist Party rule the north, and the KMT rule the south with the Yangtze as the dividing line. Let the people cast their ballots as to which party they prefer. It is said that a majority of the people are in favor of



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the Communist Party, as its top-ranking officials are honest, energetic, and hard-working men. They take the welfare of the people into their hearts, and the *lao pai hsing* are better off under their rule.

The KMT can't match the CP in battle. The Communist Party has every chance of dominating the whole of China eventually without firing a shot, if they are patient enough. All the cards are now on the table. The sooner a peace is concluded, the better for the masses.

We earnestly hope the CP will accept this realistic view to hasten peace negotiations without requiring a long ceremony as an empty, face-saving showdown.

LEE YEE YUAN.

Shanghai
March 12, 1949

War Criminals

To The Editor:

Although I am only a 16-year old middle school student who is not very well informed on national affairs, the present tension is such that I, too, want to express my views.

According to recent press reports, peace talks are hitting a snag on both sides because of the unwillingness of the Nationalists to accept the Communists' eight terms.

One of these terms, the confiscation of bureaucratic wealth, simply means helping the destitute by taking away from the present financial magnates. However, the punishment of war criminals seems illogical. According to the Communist broadcasts, the number one war criminal is Generalissimo Chiang. I believe that it is unjust to call him a war criminal. Although it was not his strength alone which defeated the Japanese, it was his inflexible spirit which saved all of us.

I have one request to make of the Communists, and that is that they drop their insistence on the punishment of war criminals. If they really wish to aid the suffering people, they must remove this category. If not, the Generalissimo will fight on, and the blood of Chinese will continue to be shed for years.

TANG WHA-SEN.

Shaoyang, Hunan
March 14, 1949

Silver Coin Sellers

To The Editor:

Six months ago when we first arrived in Soochow it was extremely difficult to sell the silver dollars we had brought with us from Kaifeng. The people seemed ignorant of the silver dollars as merchandise. Three months later, speculation in silver dollars was started in Hsuan Miao Kuan, a market place in Soochow, and now this market has prospered and many adjoining places along Kuan Tsien Street are filled with vendors jingling dollars and deafening the passers-by. These vendors are refugee students, soldiers, unemployed public servants, businessmen, and loafers, and the buyers are merchants, public functionaries, wealthy students, etc.

Recently, at least 30 of our schoolmates have participated in this business. Once a student of the Economic Department was asked, "Why do you choose such an unlawful business?" He replied, "In this chaotic period, we have to live first, and study second. No one can study with an empty stomach. Silver dollars can give me an income of GY1,000-2,000 per day, enough to live on. Besides, it gives practical knowledge to a student of economics."

School, during this interim period, is no longer the center of education—the intellectual elements gather in the market place, and students and teachers have become businessmen. For such an abnormal phenomenon the Government should be held responsible.

H. S. C.

Soochow
March 10, 1949

Mah-jong Club

To The Editor:

In accordance with a circular order from the provincial educational authorities, an Educational Promotion Association has been formed here. Being a school teacher, I was requested to join the association, and paid a sum of HK$5 for the membership fee. As a member, I naturally expected the institution to do something good in the educational field, for instance, to open a reading room for the general public—a measure decided upon by the association.

Now a number of days have elapsed since the adoption of the resolution, and not so much as a single copy of a newspaper has made its appearance in the so-called reading room of the association. Instead, evening after evening, big lamps illuminate the whole place, and the cracking and rattling sound of mah-jong playing is heard far into the small hours.

It is highly irritable to think that a good deal of the proceeds from membership fees should be expended on electricity for the benefit of mah-jong players. Such an institution should be called a mah-jong club rather than an Educational Promotion Association.

J. H. H.

Hoiping, Kwangtung
March 11, 1949

Teachers' Aid Group

To The Editor:

The January 1st, 8th, and 15th issues of the *China Weekly Review*, donated by you to us needy readers, have just been received. Now I do not have to say "poverty prevents me from progress," even though I know I shall have to say good-bye to the *Review* after the three months subscription you gave us has expired.

I send you my cordial compliments and hope you will keep on sending the magazine to us needy students.

Here at the First Municipal Middle School of Chungking, the teachers are on the verge of starvation. They can only support themselves by borrowing money at high interest rates, or by selling their clothes.

The students of the school have now joined with all the municipal schools in a movement to help support the teachers and to appeal to the Municipal Government and to the Municipal Ministry of Education. We can now boast of an organization like the Teachers' Income Appealing Club of Chungking University.

P. D. HO.

Chungking, Szechuen
March 12, 1949

Teachers' Strike

To The Editor:

I have been a faithful reader of the *Review* for months, even though it is difficult for me to keep up with the increasing price charged by the booksellers. Yet I have never stopped studying English either by borrowing the magazine from the local library or from a schoolmate because I am grateful that the magazine expresses the opinions of the people. Thus, I wish to inform you of

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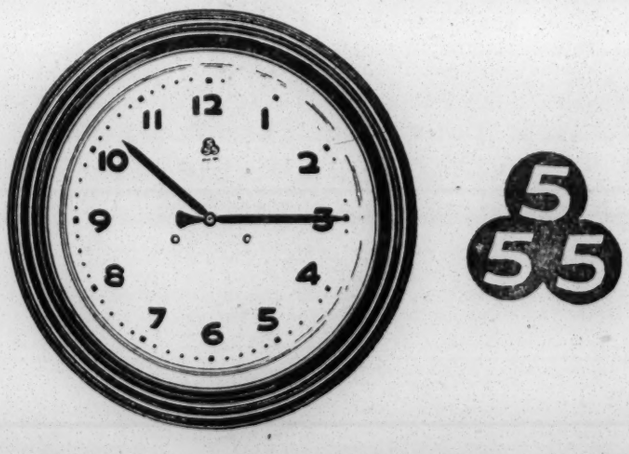

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our teachers going on strike for a higher salary.

Three days ago, our teachers told us that their salaries were about GY1300 for last month. Since such a sum is much too small to allow them to exist, they could not but resolve to strike in order to get a decent salary.

We students greatly sympathize with our teachers and therefore have organized a "retrieving organization" to appeal to the public on behalf of our teachers and to remind our Government not to overlook education no matter what the developments on the battlefield.

Oh, the bother is Mars for the way it has ground down the people.

COGENT CHOW

Chungking
March 13, 1949

Big Shop

To The Editor:

Let me tell you about the changes at our school in Chungking. For the last two terms we have had a schoolmaster who was corrupt, inefficient, and a red-baiter. During that time our school was like a big shop: The principal was the manager; the good teachers (except for some secret agents who were incapable of teaching us) were clerks; the students were customers. The principal, together with the secret agents, bought the services of the few good teachers at a very low price, and squeezed money from the students. Our wall newspapers were banned, and student self-government was forbidden. There was no freedom of speech, no publications, and no assembling. We were not permitted to criticize the unreasonable measures of the school authorities.

But this winter vacation we managed to get the schoolmaster and his subordinates discharged, and this term we have a new schoolmaster, who is a graduate of Peita University. In his inauguration speech he said, "This is the 20th century, and we surely want democracy and liberty. Today I come to be your schoolmaster because the situation is changed. In the past two years I would never have come, even if I were beaten to death."

This shows how things are changing in favor of the people.

S. H. WANG.

Chungking, Szechuen
March 3, 1949

Refused Entrance

To The Editor:

I am a Chinese student who has been in school for about 11 years. To be a student is not very easy, especially in China during such a confused period. There are many Chinese boys and girls of school age, but those who can study in school, whether primary, middle-school, or university, are few. Students must struggle through a series of difficulties: they must pay high school tuition and miscellaneous fees; they are forced to pass many unreasonable examinations, and they must study many subjects that will probably be of no use.

For these 11 years I have studied diligently so that one day I might enter a university. Since I knew that in Chinese society one who wishes to do something useful must be of a high academic standard and possess one or more diplomas, I gave up all pleasures and buried myself in my books.

I had reached my senior year at my school in Hsuchow when it fell into Communist hands. Following a group of the Kuomintang army, I fled to Shanghai. Now I find that, according to Chinese education laws in Kuomintang areas, no student in senior third year can leave his old school and be accepted in another one. So I have been refused entrance into any school.

Now being a student with no degree, I question those officials of high rank in the Municipal Education Bureau as to what treatment they will give students in the same position as mine.

CHANG CHIH.

Shanghai
March 8, 1949

School Shops

To The Editor:

There are two kinds of rice prices in Changsha: One is the so-called "controlled price," and the other the black market price. In the past the latter has always been higher than the former, and the school authorities in Changsha consequently ordered the students to pay their school expenses according to the black market price.

This year the "controlled price" is higher than the black market price. (That is to say, one can get rice at a lower price than the controlled price.) But the school authorities now want the students to pay their "school rice" at the "controlled price," with payment made in silver dollars. Since the "controlled price" is one silver dollar higher per picul than the blackmarket price, and tuition fees are seven piculs of rice a term, this means the students will have to pay seven silver dollars more this semester. Many country students cannot enter school for this reason.

From the above, one may easily imagine how corrupt the schools in Hunan are, and it is no wonder that most people call them "school shops."

S. W. WU.

Changsha, Hunan
March 7, 1949

Foreign Postage

To The Editor:

It is generally recognized that amidst the dark picture of the other Government bureaus the post office has stood out like a shining light. Many will agree with me that discouraging as the present China situation is we can still take heart over the creditable services of the post office for the past several years.

However, I do think that the international rates for postage are a little too high for the average person and for students in general. While present rates are not large, they too often are balanced in my mind with the approximate price of daily necessities. Fortunately I don't have more than two or three acquaintances living in foreign countries, or I would not have been able to afford to buy the stamps needed every month. I wonder how many people can afford to spend GY1650 for one foreign airmail letter.

LOO SHIH-CHENG.

Hangchow
March 19, 1949

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Medical Service Corps

To The Editor:

In spite of the military situation and the developments around Chingkiang, I was informed my school is still in a state of peace. The students are living together in harmony and the refugee students are not homesick because of the hospitality and good will showed them.

They have now formed a "Medical Service Corps" to relieve the sufferings of the refugees coming down from the north. Every day in spite of rain, snow, and fatigue they go to their appointed medical service stations and give free treatment to the wounded and diseased. Most of the cases have external wounds, skin diseases, or respiratory diseases, and there are countless cases of frostbite.

May both the Communist and Kuomintang parties sympathize with China's long-suffering people and in their interest put down their arms.

YING MING TEH.

National Kiangsu Medical College
Wusih
March 3, 1949

"Isms" And Religion

To The Editor:

The mock trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary shows that the Soviet Union does not yet have a clear understanding of what religion is and what a difference there is between religion and the principle of any "ism."

"Isms," so far as we can see, is merely a method, or program, or a way which is supposed to be helpful in building up a society in which men can have a better living. But how long could we live, even surrounded by every comfort and luxury, without learning about the mystery of life, the secret of our soul, the formation of the universe, and many other questions which any "ism" we have known to date has not answered?

Thus has come our demand for religion. Christianity reveals the close relationship between man and God, and that the world is only man's temporary abode. Buddhism, on the other hand, tells us that all living beings originally have a "true self" which is pure and eternal, and later becomes distorted by prejudice and selfish desires. "Isms," however, are concerned only with worldly things.

While the essential task of any religious believer is not to meddle with politics, he should be allowed to enjoy religious freedom without persecution.

CHENG WEI-LUNG.

Changteh, Hunan
March 12, 1949

Selfish Disputes

To The Editor:

In this country the people want nothing to do with wars, and especially war which is undertaken not for their welfare but for settling selfish disputes between rival parties.

Now we have a war in which one's own countrymen are being killed and the country's material wealth destroyed. Why could not this human energy and material wealth be saved for the purpose of safe-guarding China against aggression by foreign powers?

When I think of the critical situation in China for the past four or five decades, I can only shed tears of intense grief.

T. S. CHEN.

Yenchow, Chekiang
March 5, 1949

Criticizes Cartoon

To The Editor:

The cartoon "Waiting For Santa" which was originally used in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and reprinted in the March 12 issue of the *Review* aroused public indignation and was a gross slander to our Chinese dignity.

This cartoon depicts Madame Chiang Kai-shek sitting silently on Uncle Sam's doorstep. Madame Chiang has put her hands over her face and is casting sheep eyes at an old man who is undoubtedly the owner of the White House, wishing to get aid from him. Simultaneously, the latter, it is easy to imagine, treats her with cold indifference.

It is true that Madame Chiang is now living in America. She generally was believed to have been appointed special representative of the Generalissimo. Her duties are to seek more military aid to halt the Chinese Communists.

The cartoon is not only a keen satire on the present situation but slanders our Chinese women. Certainly it is not fitting to reprint such a cartoon in your esteemed weekly. We Chinese are askance at seeing such a thing. Mr. Editor, may I have your opinion soon to enlighten me about this matter.

WONG SZE-LIANG.

Shanghai
March 19, 1948

(The cartoon in question, reprinted from a large and reputable American newspaper, is an expression of American opinion on the subject of Madame Chiang's mission to the United States, and therefore was considered of interest to our readers—Editor.)

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ERP Contradictions

THE three-cornered conflict involving the European Recovery Plan administrators, the Army, and certain American business interests appears to be developing toward an intensity which promises to make the entire ERP scheme such a mass of contradictions that it will fail miserably of its own accord, regardless of any opposition from Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe.

The ERP was originally conceived as a program of systematic and long term aid which, it was hoped in Washington, would provide the necessary capital for improving conditions in the war-damaged countries of Europe to a point where mass unrest would disappear. Politically, it was felt, a program of economic improvement would so lift the standard of living in countries such as France, Holland, Italy, etc. that communism would cease to appeal to the workers and peasants.

Assuming that a struggle exists between the US and the USSR, the basic idea was fairly reasonable. From the beginning we have been unsympathetic to the idea because we have felt that it was still possible to work out an agreement with Russia in order to avoid a contest which might ultimately lead to war. However, since the American Government felt differently about matters and seemed determined to do economic and political battle in Europe, the ERP was not too unsound an idea.

However, since the time when the program was initiated, there have been several developments which, we believe, will cause the whole plan to fail unless there is a general overhauling. Such a shakeup does not seem likely, with the result that a great many billions of dollars will have been squeezed from the American taxpayer for no good purpose.

The men who framed the ERP pointed out at great length that it was not a relief program, but a rehabilitation and reconstruction one. Some emergency feeding might be done, but the emphasis would be upon aiding recipient countries to build up their native industry, commerce and agriculture to a point where they would be able to handle their own recovery and economic advancement problems by themselves. ERP, in simple terms, was merely a temporary supply organization which would provide capital, materials, and know-how.

The first great mistake made, we believe, was in bringing heavy pressure to bear upon countries accepting ERP aid to force them to cut their economic ties with the countries of Eastern Europe which were not participating in the program and which were considered Russia's allies and therefore America's potential enemies. It was argued that no results of American help such as French or Italian products for export should be allowed to go to Eastern Europe. The idea was to enforce an economic blockade on communist countries.

This forced severence of east-west trade in Europe has slowed the recovery of Western Europe considerably. Historically, the eastern part of Europe has served the function of the farm, while the countries of Western Europe have performed the job of industrial city, taking raw materials from the east and returning finished products. This artificial reorganization forced on Europe by the ERP has resulted in serious dislocation throughout the continent. It is true that this has possibly retarded the development of Eastern European countries and thereby kept America's potential enemies in a weakened state, but at the same time it has had a bad effect on the very countries receiving American aid and certainly delayed their recovery.

Another major error was committed by losing sight of the basic reason for ERP, which, we understand, was to help Western Europe and stave off communism. Now, it seems, the original idea has undergone certain changes and the current aim is two-fold: Halt the spread of communism by building up Europe and aid sagging American industries by providing a ready export market for "surplus" American products. Despite the many statements by Mr. Hoffman and his aides to the effect that ERP will not serve as a vehicle for dumping American goods which are not essential to the rehabilitation of the European democracies, there is ample evidence that more than one American producer has managed one way or another to get ERP to buy essentially useless materials and force them down European throats.

ERP either does not have the wisdom or the power to decide which American products are needed. Entirely too many luxury products such as candy and tobacco have been shipped to Britain and other recipient countries. Such items are pleasant to have, but are consumer goods which people in tight straits may well do without, especially if they cannot afford them, and particularly if they are denied machine tools or other industrial goods because of them.

An equally serious matter has been the export to Europe of non-luxury consumer or even industrial goods which Europe could produce for herself. While we are not so narrow minded as to believe that all countries should be self-sufficient in everything, we think it only reasonable to recognize that it is foolish, for instance, to ship second-hand streetcars to Europe when Europe can make perfectly good new ones for herself.

We understand that the extensive street car manufacturing works in Austria have been forced to close because ERP has bought old street cars from New York and other cities and shipped them to recipient countries. We further understand that France's automobile works are facing severe competition from imported American cars and are finding it increasingly difficult to continue operations.

It is obviously a contradiction to supply raw materials and tools to Austria's street car factories and France's auto works, plus food and cloth for the workers, and at the same time force upon Europe American street cars and automobiles which will cause the native factories to close. If ERP is to aid the industrialization of Europe, then all consumer products—at least the basic requirements of the European people—should be made in so far as possible by Europe's own factories. If, however, the basic idea of ERP is to dispose of second hand and surplus American products, then why waste money on developing industries which we wish to put out of business?

Another contradiction comes from the American military, which apparently views ERP as a means of erecting a military barrier against Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe. Regardless of any political implications which the Atlantic Pact may have, it is placing a financial burden upon its European signatories which none can really afford. The Dutch Finance Minister, Professor Pieter Lieftinck, in a recent press interview, said that the Dutch Government hoped to persuade the people to save more and also hoped to introduce other anti-inflationary measures. However, he admitted that Holland's military commitments under the terms of the North Atlantic Pact would have incalculable inflationary effects upon the country's economy.

France is probably one of the best examples of how ERP aid is not accomplishing its job of aiding and speeding up recovery and development. First, America gives France money—last year at about the rate of US$1,000,000 per day—to finance a program of recovery. Second, a large portion of the money is required to be spent in the United States for supplies and materials which could be obtained elsewhere, especially in Eastern Europe, at a much smaller cost. Third, a portion of the supplies are of a luxury type which both compete with France's great luxury industries and also force her to spend money for articles which she does not need. Fourth, manufactured products, both consumer and industrial, are supplied by America although France could supply them herself and thus save dollars and help herself at the same time. Fifth, France is carrying on a colonial war in Indo-China where, some reports estimate, she is spending about US$1,000,000 per day—roughly the amount she is receiving from America. Sixth, France is now required to raise, equip, and support a military establishment which her budget will not stand.

How in the world anyone can expect France to proceed in any direction, aside from bankruptcy is beyond understanding.

As we said, we didn't think too much of the ERP idea in the first place. Now that it's been invaded by American partisan business interests and the military, we think it smells even more. Its failure appears inevitable.

Feudal Justice

WE have observed the renewed efforts of the authorities to rid the city of criminals with mixed feelings. Certainly it is a good idea to crack down on the lawless elements, especially during this critical period. A show of force may make members of the "razor", "cleaver", and "yellow ox" gangs reflect before attempting to take advantage of the general disruption of conditions and plunge the city into a major crime wave.

However, we wonder if some of the deterents to be employed are wise. Too severe punishment may cause a most unpleasant reaction, aside from being inhumane. The official attitude seems to be that so long as the city is under martial law, the authorities are empowered to kill, maim, or otherwise punish offenders at will. This is a very narrow view and may well result in increased disorder rather than improvement of the situation.

There is nothing wrong with the theory of martial law, during which offenders of peace and order may be dealt with harshly. Society recognizes that in times of great stress, it is frequently advisable to enforce severe military law in order to prevent rioting or other chaotic acts. However, experience has shown that any given group of people will not submit to extreme and harsh controls for more than a short time. Martial law can be enforced only for a brief period covering an emergency situation. Once the crisis is past, public sympathy goes against the authorities if they attempt to maintain such strict controls.

If there is a major disaster such as fire or flood in a city, the majority of the population may desire the authorities to enforce army rule for a day or a week so that looters may be shot on sight. However, as the crisis passes the people resent the continuance of such severe discipline and the majority of the population loses sympathy with the enforcing authority.

Shanghai has been under martial law too long already. In fact, acting-President Li Tsung-jen has ordered martial law abolished, but General Tang En-po, de facto commander of this area, has declined to heed the acting-president's instructions on the ground of military necessity.

The city's economy is deteriorating. More and more factories are closing each week, while food, money, and other essentials are becoming scarcer. The troops stationed in this area are growing increasingly restive and more poorly disciplined. Perhaps General Tang, who undoubtedly realizes the gravity of the situation, feels that only by increasing the severity of martial law penalities can law and order be maintained. We are not so sure that this is the right answer. Despite the increasing lawlessness, the local population is fast losing confidence in the ruling authorities since it is obvious to all that economic, social, and political reforms are the answer, not harsher regulations.

The new police commissioner, General Mao Sen, presided at a conference last week at which additional measures to deal with lawbreakers were considered. The meeting, according to local press reports, discussed and decided to implement an order from General Tang En-po to shoot soldiers who break the law on the spot where the offense was committed. Thus, a soldier causing a disturbance at a theater is to be shot on the sidewalk in front of the theater as a warning to other soldiers and as a show of strength to impress the general public. At the same meeting it was decided to chop off the fingers of all pickpockets when they are caught red-handed. It was not clear whether this decision was made upon the basis of an order from General Tang or whether those at the meeting thought of it by themselves.

In any event, this seems to us a step backward toward the middle ages when men's ideas of justice were a great deal more primitive than today. We don't know just how recently such a punishment has been in vogue in this country, but in the West we imagine that the practice has been outlawed for about a century. The men who thought up such a punishment, in our view, indicate that they possess an almost unbelievably feudalistic concept of society.

Continuance of martial law, made more severe by on-the-spot executions, cutting off the fingers of pickpockets, or any other such miserable ideas which may occur to the authorities, will not preserve order. So long as unemployment grows and so long as the authorities are either unwilling or unable to provide food and other necessities for the city's rapidly-growing army of indigents, the tendency toward chaos will increase. A starving man will attempt to steal the necessities of life no matter how horrible the punishment for such offenses may be.

Too Much Sugar

THE Taiwan Sugar Corporation, a government monopoly, has spent considerable funds during the past three years in developing the sugar industry on the island province and now finds itself with a surplus of sugar which can neither be used in China nor sold abroad. While we dislike saying, "we told you so," it is nevertheless true that the officials engaged in this undertaking have had the benefit of a lot of advice warning them that over-development of Taiwan's sugar industry might lead to ruin.

Present developments would now seem to bear out these past warnings. Land which might have been devoted to rice has been used to plant sugar cane. The result is that rice-hungry China cannot even sell the sugar cane for money with which to buy rice or other food crops from abroad.

In the December 11, 1948 issue of the *Review*, Mr. J. Carlson Lewis, a man who understands agricultural problems quite well and who has conducted a personal investigation of conditions in Taiwan, cautioned against the expenditure of ECA funds for developing Taiwan's sugar refining capacity, pointing out that there was little possibility of a return on the investment. Mr. Lewis reviewed Japan's experience in this matter, showing that even under efficient management sugar production had been uneconomic. The Japanese subsidized the production in order to sell the refined sugar on the world markets for foreign exchange. The Japs, in effect, simply bought US dollars, pounds sterling and other foreign currencies at a premium. Because of war preparations and the urgent need for imported materials, the Japanese figured that the actual loss incurred in producing the sugar was worth while. The same reasoning can scarcely be applied to China's present plan.

Comparing prewar and postwar sugar and rice prices, Mr. Lewis reasoned that sugar production in Taiwan would be even less efficient today than in the prewar days when the island's economy complemented that of Japan. World sugar production at the present time is about three percent above prewar levels, while world rice production is about four percent below prewar. Further, sugar prices today are about the same as or lower than prewar, while rice prices are higher. Thus, even if China was able to sell the sugar abroad and then buy foreign rice, she almost certainly would lose money on the deal. How much simpler and wiser it would have been to devote the sugar land to rice. The added money spent on foreign fertilizer, equipment for rehabilitation of sugar refining plants, etc. could have been spent on improving the rice yield.

Analyzing the merits of the two crops, Mr. Lewis wrote: "Looking at Taiwan's sugar and rice production from an objective viewpoint, one sees that sugar yields .... about 4,700 pounds for 12 months. Rice on the island, on the other hand, yields about 2,400 pounds of paddy plus a winter crop per acre every 12 months. Raw granulated sugar imported into China in 1937 cost about US$.05 per pound.

"The present bulk price of Taiwan sugar to SCAP in Japan in 1948 is also about US$.05 per pound. In 1937, Southeast Asia rice, in terms of paddy (inferior to Taiwan rice) imported into China was at a rate of about US$.017 and in 1948, about US$.055. Southeast Asia rice is the cheapest available on the world market, but its supply is rationed through the International Emergency Food Council of FAO. With Java, the cheapest sugar producer in the world, still supplying comparatively little because of political upheavals there, sugar prices in the future are expected to fall as conditions stabilize and more supplies become available. Rice, still on short supply, on the other hand is expected to become more expensive.

"Thus, at present — considering the world market prices about equal and with sugar yielding nearly twice as much per acre—sugar will be worth twice as much per acre in terms of foreign exchange if all the sugar raised can be sold on foreign markets. This is precisely the point and many students of the problem think that this cannot be done."

From these figures it would seem that a conservative estimate would give sugar a two to one price advantage on world markets. How-

ever, as Mr. Lewis pointed out, this advantage before the war was even greater and at that time the Japanese found that it cost them money to raise sugar. Already the price advantage of sugar has fallen, and, if world market trends are to be taken into consideration, it will fall further in the not so distant future.

Another point is that the cost of producing sugar is much greater than the production cost of rice. First, large quantities of chemical fertilizer are needed for sugar. Second, huge industrial installations are required for the processing of the raw cane. Rice production has, by comparison, only negligible expenses.

Mr. Lewis said that many observers thought that the real hitch would come when China found that there was no market for her sugar. She would then find herself stuck with large quantities of a product which represented a sizable investment. Pursuing the question of possible sugar markets further, Mr. Lewis said:

"It should be noted that the Japanese used about 1,000,000 metric tons of Taiwan raw sugar per year. Now, Taiwan Sugar Company personnel are talking in terms of producing 2,000,000 tons a year with no prospective customer except Japan in sight. And many persons fear that Japan would be very happy to have Taiwan put a large investment into sugar only to find later on that Taiwan would have to sell on Japanese dictated terms since there would be no one else to sell to."

Latest press reports from Taiwan indicate that Mr. Lewis' fears were all too well founded. The sugar expansion program has progressed to the point that production is now estimated at 500,000 tons, or one-fourth of the goal. However, present production has already resulted in a surplus. No foreign markets besides Japan have been found, while the China market has been considerably restricted due to the military situation, with areas such as North China, which had been counted on for heavy consumption, cut off. Meanwhile, in mainland areas still under KMT control, Taiwan sugar has to compete with the output of producing areas such as Szechuen, Kwangtung, and Fukien. Further, many regions which might be considered as potential markets subsist upon locally manufactured sugar.

Perhaps there can be some expansion of the mainland market through sales to cities such as Shanghai, Nanking, and Canton where a premium for super-refined white sugar might be obtained. Most mainland areas, however, make out by using inferior quality, but cheap, local sugar. The end result, though, seems to be that rice-hungry Kuomintang China is now stuck with a surplus of refined sugar, the acquiring of which necessitated the spending of considerable money and labor.

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Perpetual Motion

Two hundred tons of old CNC notes were shipped to Taiwan during the past month for the Taiwan Paper Company to be reduced into pulp for paper.—*Ta Kung Pao.*

And when the Taiwan Paper Company is finished with them, perhaps they can be turned over to the Taiwan plant of the Central Bureau of Printing and Engraving, which, we understand, is experiencing a paper shortage.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

March 22, 1924

Women's Paper

The Women's *Daily News*, a Chinese newspaper for women and the first of its kind in North China, has just been started by several young women in Tientsin, one among whom was formerly a prominent agitator in the students' movement several years ago and was afterwards sent over to France for higher education.

* * *

Peaceful Week

The past week has been propitious for the Far East, particularly so in China. No events likely to lead to serious trouble have transpired, previous fears of fighting and knotty complications have been lulled, and minds have turned for the moment to the promotion of affairs for better days through peaceful, lawful means. Months and years of the stamp of the past days would bring to business men their fondest hopes for development. Almost the sole topic of press discussion regarding China has had to do with the negotiations with Soviet Russia for the resumption of diplomatic relations. Much of Japan's news, likewise, has been in connection with the recognition of the Soviet. A sharp decline in the Yen has caused uneasiness in Japan business circles, but there was sufficient hope of means being devised to raise the Yen's value to a reasonable market rate. While some likelihood of the United States House of Representatives passing the Philippine Independence bill was reported, the Filipinos and American businessmen in the Islands realize that the *status quo* is to be maintained politically and they are settling down to business.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

March 25, 1939

"Little Devils"

More than 20,000 homeless Chinese urchins and runaway boys from various parts of the country have joined the Chinese 8th Route Army in the Northwest in the fight against the Japanese. Most of the boys range from 11 to 16 years, hence are too small to carry arms, but they make themselves useful as buglers, messengers, mess boys, theater actors and first-aid workers.

Haldore Hanson, correspondent for the *Associated Press*, who spent considerable time in the Northwest, said that these youths, who style themselves "little devils," are the gayest creatures in every camp. They wear discarded uniforms, often three sizes too large, and receive the same pay and food as the regular soldiers—$1 Chinese dollar a month, equivalent to about 16½ cents in American money. One sun-tanned bugler said that being a "little devil" was more fun than starving on a farm in a Japanese occupied zone.

Hundreds of boys who joined the old Red Army in the days of the civil war are now high officers in the Eighth Army.

* * *

Madame Chiang Condemns Corruption

The following excerpt is from Madame Chiang's "Resurgam" series, which appeared originally in the New Life Movement supplement of the *Central Daily News*:

"Most high officials who pretended to superiority, but who yearned for the unsavory commission, had underlings to transact the questionable business for them. The underlings in their turn, developed their own technique, and if they failed to secure their price, they contrived means to cause the collapse of the negotiations and the shelving of the project.

Thus this Republic has much to live down, many lingering bad habits, evil notions and distorted conceptions to extirpate. Our past and present diplomatic and industrial highways have been strewn with the corpses of lost causes and the bleaching bones of strangled industries, while innumerable schemes of potential value have been stillborn and have long choked the pigeon-holds and archives of various ministries."

Political Tides In Yunnan

Galahad Wood

WHILE Nanking struggles with the problem of peace, the Communists are making headway in Yunnan, and the Nationalist Government is fast losing its hold over the province.

Just before his retirement, President Chiang Kai-shek summoned a group of governors, warlords and generals to Nanking for a last minute conference which resulted in a re-shuffle of provincial posts in the south and southwestern provinces. In Yunnan, two new commissioners were appointed: An En-pu as commissioner of civil affairs, and Ling Yu-t'ang as commissioner of finance. Governor Lu Han was made concurrently chief of the Yunnan Provincial KMT office and given command of the Nationalist 26th Army. Thus, this governor, who last month was responsible for the execution of 21 persons in the Kunming banknote scandal (see *Review*, March 5), now has combined authority over the government, the party and the army. Recently, he warned all the evening papers in Kunming to stop using information picked up from "unreliable" broadcasts.

New Commissioners

An En-pu, the new Commissioner of Civil Affairs, received his appointment not simply because he is a dependable Lolo relative of Lu Han but also because he is an ex-military man, one-time Commander of the 60th Army, who fought against the Japanese at Taierchuang and whose army was noted for the good discipline of his soldiers. Recently he escaped capture following the Nationalist retreat from Hsuchow. He is expected to play an important role in putting the Nationalist house in order in Yunnan.

Ling Yu-t'ang, the new Commissioner of Finance, a faithful member of the CC Clique and a follower of the ex-Commissioner of Finance, Lu Chung-jen, has had considerable experience in political and economic affairs. During the war, Ling managed to make a tidy profit out of an organization called the "Overseas Banking Corporation of China" which was established in Kunming by a Burmese Chinese named Liang King-shan and of which Ling was a standing director. Ling also heads the *Chen I Pao* (Justice Daily), the mouthpiece of ex-finance commissioner Lu. In 1945, when the Yunnan provincial government was reorganized, Ling was appointed accountant general.

These political appointments are not the only new developments in Yunnan. The resident committee of the Yunnan provincial council recently passed a series of resolutions with dangerously separatist potentialities. They provide:

1) That, in order to make both ends of the provincial budget meet, the provincial government should take over all taxation organizations which the Central Government has established in Yunnan;

2) That, in order to lessen the burden on the people and at the same time insure the maintenance of order in the province, Yunnan should reduce the number of soldiers under its authority to 6,000 and the Central Government should be responsible for any expenses for soldiers in excess of this number; and

3) That, for any services which the Central Government asks of Yunnan, it must be prepared to pay all expenses in advance.

Not Sure Of Position

It is interesting to note, however, that Governor Lu Han has refrained from putting any of these measures into effect, partly because he does not believe the time is ripe for such an independent move, and partly because he is not sure of his own strength. His ten Peace Preservation Corps regiments exist, for all practical purposes, in name only, since six of them have been "eaten away" by the local Reds and the remaining four are in the process of organization. He would like to recruit more able-bodied men, but he hesitates because of the Red propaganda against conscription, taxation and rice-borrowing. (The *Sin Wen Pao* reported that the Yunnan provincial government decided on March 12 to suspend conscription and food requisitioning in the province—Editor.)

"Pursuit of Light," by Li Hwa.

On the Communist side, it has been estimated that more than 1,500 Communists, veterans of the wartime East River column in Canton, have moved into Yunnan since last April. They are reported to be under the leadership of Chu Chia-pi, who, according to fairly reliable sources, has been appointed by the Communists in North China as vice commanding general of a formally inaugurated Democratic Liberation Army for the Yunnan, Szechuen and Kwangsi areas. The commanding general is said to be Juang Tien.

Guerillas Organized

The Reds have organized the guerilla units into 12 formal columns. (In the Communist Army, a column ordinarily includes three divisions and is equivalent to a Nationalist army. However, the strength of a column must vary from district to district, since it is unlikely that the columns in Yunnan approach this size—Editor.) Seven columns, under the command of Chu Chia-pi, are already in control of a number of hsien east of the Indo-China railway, and the other five, under the command of Hsu Ling-sun (also known as Yu Wei-min), who is a graduate of the Red Academy in Yenan, are responsible for taking over the hsien west of the railway. In addition, the Communists have organized eight local columns in different hsien.

Other prominent Communists in Yunnan are said to be Chow Pao-chun and Liu Foo-tsu. Chow, who is a native of Tali in west Yunnan, was a high ranking military officer during the Sino-Japanese war and has a brother who is a Communist general in North China. He is said to have the backing of the Burmese Communists and operates in west Yunnan with Kawa mountain (on the Burmese border), as his base. Liu is active on the Yunnan-Szechuen-Kweichow border.

One development that aroused a good deal of speculation concerns the activity of the new vice commanding general of the Provincial Recruitment Headquarters, Wan Pao-pang, who was sent south to pacify the "bandits." Wan, who is a large landlord in Mengtsz and was acting commander of the 60th Army during the war, unexpectedly captured the city of Mengtsz instead. When Government reinforcements were sent south, they were ambushed by "bandits." At the present time, Wan and his soldiers are still in the mountains around Meng-

tsz, and it is not known whether they are on some special confidential mission or whether they are planning to cooperate with the Reds.

"Bandit" Activities

Here are some random examples of "bandit" activities. On the third day of the Chinese New Year they killed the magistrate of Yen-shan hsien in the south and commissioned a new magistrate to take his place. In Kochiu, 110 guards of the Yunnan Consolidated Tin Corporation appropriated a quantity of silver dollars and then joined the Reds with their 110 rifles and four machine guns. A coalition government under local Communist leadership has been set up in Kwangnan hsien and the magistrate has been forced to set up a refugee government in one of the neighboring villages. Another magistrate, Mr. Hsu Yun-hsien, announced recently that he had "liberated" his hsien in accordance with the wishes of the people. He declared he had served the KMT Government for 30 years but got nothing because he was not a good squeezer and now it was time for him to do something for the people. In Yenhsing hsien in west Yunnan, the magistrate shot more than 20 people, including some hsien councillors, on trumped-up charges of "communism" and "rebellion." The people killed him and took over administration of the hsien.

Hsien Captured

Along the Red River, Hsu Ling-sun has already captured a number of hsien including Yuan-kiang, Mai-kiang, Fu-hai, Ling-er, Lan-tsang, Fenyuang, Szemao and Pu-erh. The local Reds have succeeded in occupying about a third of the 131 hsien in the province of Yunnan. In the areas which have been liberated, the Reds distribute rice, cotton yarn and other necessities to the poor. In cases where people are afraid to become involved in the local political turmoil, the Reds have been known to place gifts in front of their homes.

Those who have actually witnessed the success of the Reds in winning the support of the people state that it is due to a number of reasons: 1) The Reds know they are fighting for something in which they believe; 2) the Reds keep very good discipline and always help the poor in order to gain public sympathy and support. In hsien occupied by them, the relationship between the Reds and the *lao pai hsing* are cordial, and the people call them "Reds" rather than "bandits." In a number of areas the Government still holds the cities but the Reds control all the outlying districts. Every farmer acts as an intelligence agent for the Reds and everywhere they go, the people welcome them. 3) The Reds are reported to be receiving considerable help from Ho Chi-minh in Vietnam in the form of machine gunners, mechanics and technicians; and 4) they are supplied with military materials by "international ammunition smugglers" on the Kwangsi-Yunnan-Indo-China border in addition to what they seize from Government soldiers.

Tightening Circle

In order to isolate Kunming, Red "technical units" cut wires, dismantle communications and destroy coal stocks. It has been reported that production at the Min Liang Coal Corporation is now only 40 percent of its pre-bandit production. Trains on the Indo-China and Kochiu-Shihping railway are stopped regularly. The price of rice in Kunming has increased daily because of transportation difficulties created by the local Reds.

A study of the map shows how the Reds are gradually tightening their circle around Kunming. Every day newspapers in Kunming carry stories of increased Red activity. On February 10, around 700 "bandits" led by Liu Fu-chia attacked Hsiao Hsin Kai, an important railway station between Kunming and Chiu-ching hsien, and seized the American-made machine guns and rifles used by the railway police. They also attacked the dynamo electrical factory of the Kun Fu Electricity Corporation located a few miles from Kunming on February 19, causing all lights to be cut off in Kunming.

In view of the hold the local Reds already have on the province of Yunnan, it is doubtful whether Governor Lu Han or his newly appointed commissioners will be able to save the situation for the Nationalists.

Communist Units Reportedly Operating In Yunnan

Formal Columns	Name of Commander	Description
First Column	Sun Tai-chia	Native of Kwanan. Ex-Chief of Body-Guard Unit of Kwanan Hsien Yamen, surrendered to Chu Chia-pi when Chu captured the city last June 22.
Second "	Ho Hsien-lung	Native of Kwanan.
Third "	Sheng Hsien	Veteran Communist.
Fourth "	Peng Ta Tung	
Fifth "	Liu Pi-ching	Native of Makuan. Former hsien councillor to the Provincial Council. Responsible for capture of Makuan several months ago.
Sixth "	Hang Chow-chung	Traditional Miao leader among his tribe people. Co-operated with Liu Pi-ching in capture of Makuan.
Seventh "	Yang Show-tu	Graduate of Yunnan University. Nephew of Yang Tea-yuan, ex-Vice Speaker of Luliang Hsien Council and now the Chief of Luliang Native Column.
(The above seven columns are under the overall command of Chu Chia-pi).		
Eighth Column	Hsu Ling-sun	Native of Yunnan. Graduate of Red Academy at Yenan.
Ninth "	Wang Weng-hwa	A laborer from Shantung Province. Veteran Communist.
Tenth "	Liu Kun-foo	Native of Shihping. A brave Robin Hood.
Eleventh "	Lee Tzen-chow	Veteran Communist.
Twelfth "	Wu Cha	Veteran Communist.
(The above five columns are under the overall command of Hsu Ling-sun.)		
Native Columns	**Name of Commander**	**Description**
Kwanan Column	Sun Kwan-ting	Native of Kwanan. A veteran magistrate.
Luliang "	Yang Tea-yuan	Native of Luliang. Ex-Speaker of Luling Hsien Council.
Ping-bian "	Tzo Ting	Once a regiment commander.
(The above native columns east of the Indo-China Railway belong to Chu Chia-pi)		
Lung-wu Column	Mo Tzung-t'ang	Retired military officer.
O-san "	Dong Chien-an	Graduate of the Foreign Language and Literature Dept. of Yunnan University.
Yuan-kiang "	Lee Ho-tsai	Horse-driver, father-in-law of Hsu Ling-sun.
Hsinping Column	Hsu	
Shihping "	Liu Kwan-ching	Retired military officer.
(The above five columns west of the Indo-China Railway are responsible to Hsu Ling-sun.)		

Reconstruction Of Kaohsiung Harbor

James P. Hwang (黃賓)

KAOHSIUNG harbor—the back door of Taiwan—has now been completely rehabilitated following its destruction during the war, and plans are being made to expand it as a major port in the Far East.

The reconstruction work, a major task in view of the many difficulties both on the mainland of China and on Taiwan itself, is significant in the light of the harbor's history and potentialities.

The harbor city, originally known as Takao (打狗), was once a fishermen's village on the southwestern coast of the island. The surrounding waters were full of driftbars and shoals, and the sea waves roared so high that it was a perilous place to anchor. On the conclusion of the Sino-British treaty at Tientsin, the British traveled to the island from Amoy and began to colonize it. They founded a port at Kaohsiung, which, together with sister ports at Keelung, Damsei and Angping, were open to international traffic. There was no attempt, however, to construct a harbor.

In 1899, soon after the forced cession of the island to Japan, the Japanese began to realize the importance of building up a harbor for their future economic encroachment on the South colonies. Engineering work was first started on the harbor in 1908 and was continued over successive years.

Ideal Climate

The harbor boasts an ideal climate. Thermometer readings average 24.42°, and the barometer 758mm. A balmy wind blows westerly north throughout the year except for a short spell between summer and autumn when there are typhoons. The precipitation is light and relative humidity low. The water current in the harbor is around three knots per hour and the tidal fluctuation never exceeds 1.17 meters, thus permitting safe anchorage for all sea goers.

What is more, the harbor has been providentially supplied with two things: First, it is severed from the sea by a long stretch of driftbar at the outer side which constitutes a wall against the ocean waves. Second, two hills, the Hsiao-Shan and the Chi-Hau-Shan, rise haughtily on either side of the entrance within a stone's throw of each other, thereby commanding the waters in and out and giving navigators an excellent target. At the heel of each hill a massive concrete breakwater or "mole" has been constructed which extends some 1,000 meters into the sea. The two breakwaters provide a 350 meter wide entrance for ships coming into the harbor.

The whole harbor, 1500 meters wide by 12 kilometers long, covers a navigable water area of 16.5 square kilometers, with the fairway and mooring acreage combined 1.57 square kilometers, approximately one-tenth of the whole.

Unfortunately, the harbor was utilized by the Japanese as a major base for their southward expansion during the war and it was consequently almost completely wiped out by Allied bombers. At war's end there remained only the dilapidated walls of reinforced concrete buildings, the shattered masses of quay wharves, and piles of stone, husks of sunken ships and the like. The entrance to the harbor was practically blocked and the fairway so choked with silt and dirt that a 300-ton boat could barely make the passage.

This was the situation facing the Chinese Government when it took over the harbor after the war. Engineers sent from Chungking had to start from scratch, with buildings destroyed, communications cut, and supplies and tools lacking.

Rehabilitation Work

The first job was that of clearing away the rubble that filled the quay wharves and the highways and railways, and tearing down the ragged walls of bombed buildings. One half-destroyed reinforced concrete bridge over a railway line took three months of bare-handed labor to tear down. The mammoth job of dismantling and refloating the sunken ships began at the same time. There were 24 steamers wholly or partly submerged in the heart of the harbor, the largest of which was an oil tanker, the Kuoshio Maru, whose displacement tonnage was 10,518, and more than 100 small vessels. Eighteen ships with a tonnage of 71,235 have now been salvaged and three, the Yamazawa Maru, Shonan Maru and Kuroshio Maru, totalling 18,215 tons, have been refloated and repaired for use. The water today is free of obstructions.

Rebuilding godowns and warehouses was another task. In Japanese times, the harbor possessed 24 warehouse buildings, mostly of two-story, first-grade reinforced concrete construction. About 95 percent of these buildings were levelled during the war. Now, despite the lack of materials, they have all been rebuilt and renovated and have a gross storing capacity of 143,781 tons. Three tall godowns facing the No. 4 wharf have steel frame structures with a thin plate walling, the material for which was salvaged from the sunken ships. Each of these godowns is to be fitted with a rolling cargo conveyor. The two-story reinforced concrete buildings are hemmed in by railways both at the front and rear, and there are spacious staging platforms off the second floors so that cargo can be transferred directly from the ships into the godown and from the godown onto the trains by means of crawling cranes railed along the wharves. There are also some single-story warehouses of temporary construction which were built merely to tide over emergency needs.

In addition, there are a number of newly-erected warehouses, most of which belong to Government concerns such as the Taiwan Sugar Company, the China Navigation Company, and the Taiwan Express Company. Fifty-three of these have been completed and have a storage capacity of 166,134 tons. Local private capital is also pushing construction of numerous warehouses in the harbor area, and there is, in addition, 20,955 square meters of ground for the storage of coal and other materials. Present traffic accommodation is back to 85 percent of the prewar high of 3,200,000 tons in 1939.

Wharfs And Shelters

The harbor has 3,170 meters of quay wharves of three types: 1) The reinforced or plain concrete-massive type, 2) the reinforced concrete deck-and-pile type, and 3) the reinforced concrete caisson type with steel sheet-pile lining. The foundation for all wharves was laid well down in the water with a vertical quay wall 10.5 meters high, so as to give deep-drought steamer berthing without tilting at the tides. Although these wharves were badly damaged and bulged over, they have been remolded and repaired. The whole length of 23 berthing seats can, at present, accommodate a tonnage of 134,000 of ships ranging from 3,000 to 10,000 tons. There are also 14 newly-repaired buoys to which some 70,000 tons can be hitched. In addition, the harbor has annexed several shoal-water wharves and shelters of about three meters deep for boats of 100 tons and under. On the right of the outer harbor there is one secluded shelter especially for fishing boats. All these quay wharves and docks are interlocked by a network of railways and highways connecting with the island's central lines.

The soil of the harbor bed is of the silty-loam type. Because it went so many years without being dredged and regulated, the channel was badly choked up. At the end of the war, dredging work was urgently needed but there were no dredgers left intact, and what was worse, no repair plants or fittings to restore the damaged dredgers. Calling on their ingenuity, the workmen did an amazing job of repairing the dredgers with hand tools plus a small amount of equipment they were able to get in Shanghai and elsewhere, and the harbor was dredged. Today the water is 9.5 meters deep at high tide, and 12,000-ton ships can safely anchor in the inner harbor.

There are now two electric-powered suction dredgers of 500 tons and 750 horsepower and one bucket dredger. The suction dredgers are being used to widen the fairway of the harbor from 120 to 150 meters, but since they are not self-propelled

they are not suitable for use on the high seas. In view of the necessity of expanding the harbor for future use, the director of the harbor bureau, Mr. Lin Tse-pin (林則彬) has asked the Ministry of Communications to provide, through American aid, a new ladder-chain or self-propelled suction dredger for this work.

A wireless telegraph station has recently been completed to serve as an inter-port informant and guide to ships. The lighthouse (red, white; C class) on the top of the Kee-Shan, whose beams can be seen 20.5 knots away, forms the main target of the harbor. On the farther end of each of the two breakwaters there are red-green light poles with an illuminating distance of 8 and 10 knots respectively.

The quay wharves are outfitted with cranes of five, 15 and 50 tons and there are floating cranes of 15 and 30 tons. All these hoists, crawling or floating, have been newly repaired and are in fairly good operating shape. The Ministry of Communications has promised to send three new cranes of medium capacity for use in the harbor.

Water Sources

The harbor bureau has eight efficient lighters, the largest being 110.58 tons, and seven boats to water the ships. There are also 29 hydrants along the quay wharves which conduct soft water directly to the ships on berth. All these water sources are supplied from the city water plant, and the bureau also has a soft-water filtering pool on the Siao-Shan for emergency purposes.

As the Kaohsiung oil refinery is located only a short distance away, the harbor is well supplied with refined fuels direct from the plant through newly-laid pipes. The bureau also has one oil boat for prompt feeding in the harbor, and several others will soon be furnished by the oil plant itself.

Because the harbor is so well situated as regards navigation routes to and from the South Seas the city of Kaohsiung has developed into an industrial center, housing such works as a caustic soda manufactory, aluminum and cement plants, an oil refinery, machine works, shipyards, fertilizer chemicals, the Taiwan Sugar Company, etc. The national Government and the local community are now attempting to push the idea of making the harbor an international free port of trade to rival Hongkong.

As a step toward expanding the harbor in this direction, the harbor authority has laid down a tentative three-year plan. The first year would see the construction of a new 1,000-ton dry dock, completion of the No. 19-22 deep-water concrete-block quay wharves, extension of 3.800 meters of railway, floating of four new buoys for 10,000-ton ships, improvement of night-navigating facilities, and the dredging of 190,000 cubic meters of silt from the fairway so as to accommodate ships of 15.000 tons.

During the second year, the plans call for the construction of a 20,000 ton dry dock, paving the masonry embankments and repairing the shoal-water wharves along the Kee-Haw, regulation of the water area along the industrial district to make it navigable and laying the foundation for deep-water wharves to be constructed during the ensuing period.

Third year plans envisage the construction of three deep-water wharves of the protruding type along the industrial section, laying out new rail and highway lines around this area, installation of more mechanical conveyors and cranes for cargo transit, erection of more warehouses—preferably by private capital—to increase storage capacity to 720,000 tons, and expansion of the deep-water wharves by 45 more berthing seats for 15,000-ton ships.

If these blueprints become realities, the Kaohsiung harbor should have an interesting future.

Kuomintang Confucianism:
What's In A Name?

FRANK CHEN

ONE of the reasons for the failure of the Kuomintang has been its adherance to the Confucian principle of "Rectification of Names" (正名). This principle, under Kuomintang usage, has degenerated until the name itself has become more important than the function. When something is wrong, as soon as its name is "rectified," the matter is solved.

Let us see how this principle has worked out in the last few years.

In 1946, for the purpose of appearing to lay the ground work for constitutional government the KMT convoked the National Assembly, without the participation of the Communist Party and the Democratic League, and framed a constitution. In 1947, a "general election" was ordered, and in 1948 a new National Assembly was convened to elect a president and a vice president. Chiang Kai-shek's title thus was changed from chairman of the Nationalist Government to president of the Chinese Republic. In other words, a name was rectified.

However, the emergency powers conferred upon the president by the new National Assembly nullified the effects of the constitution. But, so long as there was a constitution on paper and so long as Chiang Kai-shek was given the title of president, "democracy" was supposed to be in existence in China. This is a perfect illustration of degenerated Confucian nominalism.

Soon after the KMT decided to launch the Civil War, it adopted the name, "Bandit Suppression Campaign." To call the Communists "bandits" was, in its view, another name "rectified."

When a number of KMT members tried to make the Civil War an international issue so as to invite intervention by foreign powers, they had a resolution passed by the Legislative Yuan to the effect that the term "Bandit Suppression Campaign" be replaced by "Anti-Aggression War." Although it has never been put into practice, the resolution illustrates the fact that the KMT tried to turn the Civil War in its favor by the magic of merely rectifying names.

Now, because of its military collapse, the KMT has offered the olive branch to the Communists. But it is now the Communist Party which is in the position to dictate the terms of surrender. For the purpose of "saving face," the KMT authorities call it "peace," perhaps another rectified name.

When the Generalissimo stepped down from his office, he used in his parting message a very ambiguous word *Tui-hsiu* (退休), which is neither "resign" nor "retire." In foreign countries, when a high official retires from his position, he seldom will accept the same position again. A Chinese official may *Tui-hsiu* today, but he may assume the same position tomorrow. Even if Chiang does not re-assume his post, he has never retired officially from the highest position in China. It thus becomes evident that Chiang's last-minute choice of words still follows the Confucian doctrine of rectification of names.

In short, from its rise to its downfall, the KMT has been interested mainly in a nice or "rectified" name. *San Min Chu I* was an attractive slogan, but nothing has come of it. A constitution is an indispensable instrument of democracy, and the KMT had one "made to order" while the Civil War was going on unofficially. A general election is a requisite of democracy and the KMT staged one. There should be a president in a republic, and the KMT, through its controlled National Assembly, conferred that title upon the Generalissimo. A bill of rights was included in the constitution, but the old practice of violating human rights was never stopped.

Ever since the constitution was proclaimed, a one-party, or rather one-man, dictatorship has remained in practice, despite all the nice names of democratic institutions on paper. Secret police, corruption, inefficiency, incompetence, bureaucracy, military feudalism, government by decree, conscription of able-bodied men, exhorbitant taxes both in money and in kind, etc., have been the order of the day, while the interests of the people have been totally ignored. All the rectified names in the world cannot change these facts, and a regime which relied entirely on them was bound to collapse even without the armed opposition of the Communists.

Background Of Burma Uprisings

Lin Wo-chiang (林我將)

THE recent political developments in Burma are a source of bewilderment to those not familiar with Burmese affairs and involve a number of contradictions. Burma has fought three wars (in 1824, 1852 and 1885) in an attempt to gain independence from Great Britain. Yet today, because of the internal strife which started soon after her independence was finally won last January, Burma is reportedly considering readmission into the British Commonwealth of Nations.

During the spring of 1948, when war broke out between the Burmese Government and the Burmese Communists, the People's Volunteer Organization gave unreserved support to the Government. But last summer the PVO broke away to side with the Communists, only to rejoin the Government again this winter to help suppress the Karen uprisings.

The Karens, a minority race who had always been regarded as loyal to the British, served the Government of Burma after independence but now have turned against it to fight on the side of the Communists. In short, the political weather in Burma seems to be changing hourly, defying any reasonable forecast.

How Independence Was Won

How Burma got her independence is a long story but, essentially, it was the result of the post-war realignment of British colonial policy. During the war, Britain's resources were strained to the limit, and she lost so much prestige as the result of her retreat before the Japanese in the Battle of Burma that, when she attempted to restore the status quo ante in Burma after the Japanese surrender, she was strenuously opposed by the Burmese, who, under the leadership of the late General Aung San, commander in chief of the Patriotic Burmese Forces, and other leaders of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, demanded immediate and complete independence for Burma.

Great Britain had such a great stake in India and other parts of the world that she could not afford to become bogged down in the marshes and jungles of Burma. So the Attlee-Thakin Nu treaty, according complete independence to Burma, was signed in London on October 17, 1947, and the Government of the Union of Burma made its debut on January 4, 1948, to the chagrin of the British Conservative Party and somewhat to the surprise of a number of Burmese.

The Constitution of the Union of Burma, which was adopted by a Burmese Constituent Assembly on September 24, 1947, became effective at the time of independence. As a state, Burma prefers to be known as the "Union of Burma," since, as provided by the Constitution, it embraces all the racial groups within the confines of Burma—the Burmese, the Shans, the Karens, the Kachins, etc. Burmese lead the different races with a population of about 10,000,000, and the Karens come next, with a population of about 1,500,000. But in the Constitution, the area the Karens occupy is regarded as a special region, while that inhabited by the Shans is given the status of a state within the Union. Because of this seeming discrimination, the Karens have been in armed rebellion during the last few months.

Series Of Uprisings

The people of the Union of Burma were not to enjoy the blessings of independence for long. The peace of the country has been disturbed by a series of political and racial uprisings since April of last year. It is now reaching the stage where the continued existence of Burma as an independent state may be threatened.

The first storm broke out toward the end of last March, when a number of Communists were arrested following a Communist party rally in Rangoon at which the Burmese Communist chief, Thakin Than Tin, openly preached rebellion against the Government. After the arrests, Communist uprisings took place all over the country.

The Burmese Communists, it will be recalled, had been comrades in arms with most of the Government leaders in the Burmese resistance movement against the Japanese. When Japan surrendered, the Communist Party split into two groups, the so-called Red Flag and White Flag Communists. The White Flag group joined the Government, while the Red Flag faction set itself up in opposition, charging that the Government had bartered away the rights of Burma for a mere shadow of power and independence, and demanding that all British corporations in Burma be confiscated immediately and without compensation.

A few months later, the White Flag Communists also deserted the Government over an issue raised during the party convention of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League held last June. The White Flag leaders had proposed that, in order to achieve peace and unity, the rebellious Communists be invited to a conference for peace talks. As the Government was determined to put down the Communist rebellion by force, the proposal was turned down and the White Flag group walked out.

Now a second schism is at hand. As mentioned above, the Karens, who have never been satisfied with their political status in the Union, have been demanding a separate state. The opportunity to force their demands came, therefore, when the Government was confronted with a Communist rebellion, the desertion of the left wing of the PVO, (i.e., the White Flag Communists), and the defection of some Government troops. The Tenasserim area was occupied by the Karens last September, a month after the defection of the First and Third Battalions of the "Burma Rifles." Early this year, Karen armed uprisings spread to the Delta district in the neighborhood of Rangoon. At the present writing, Insein, an important town in this district, is still held by the Karens and Mandalay, the old capital, has also fallen into their hands.

Rangoon Threatened

The latest news is that the Karens in Upper Burma are driving down the Irrawaddy river from Mandalay to join the Karen rebels in the Delta districts, with Rangoon as their objective. The capture of Rangoon by the combined forces of the Karens and Communists may be expected any day during the coming weeks unless effective outside aid is given the Burmese Government. During the past month the Government has repeatedly appealed to Britain for both financial and military aid, in return for which, it is said, Burma would be willing to consider returning to the British Commonwealth as a Dominion.

According to British sources, the British Government has refused to deal directly with Burma on this question for fear of arousing suspicion that it has designs on Burma, and has suggested that Burma approach members of the British Commonwealth instead, particularly India and Australia. It is believed that the re-

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A sidewalk library, from the Shun Pao.

cent Commonwealth Conference on Burma, held in New Delhi and participated in by India, Australia and Ceylon, was the result of Burma's urgent appeal for aid. Although no decision was taken regarding Burma's readmission to the Commonwealth, certain of those who attended the conference expressed belief that sooner or later Burma would "return to the fold."

The present situation in Burma puts Britain in a dilemma. The Burmese Government has a treaty with Britain in which Britain is pledged to give military aid to Burma. The defense agreement attached to the treaty says, among other things: "Having regard to the friendly relations signified by the conclusion of this Agreement, the United Kingdom Government agree to give reasonable facilities for purchase of the Government of Burma of war material."

Complicating Factor

On the other hand, the Karens, although looked down on by the Burmese, had been the favorite proteges of the British. When Burma's independence was being discussed, the Karens indicated their preference to remain under British suzerainty as a semi-autonomous state outside the Union of Burma. But the British, to avoid the appearance of pursuing a policy of "divide and rule," decided to leave Burma lock, stock and barrel. However, the matter is now complicated by the disquieting fact that the Karen success in the recent drive against the Government has been achieved largely through the cooperation of the Communists, whose expansion in Burma is feared by both the Burmese and British, since the latter still have an immense vested interest in Burma.

There are three courses open to the British Government. The first would involve giving unreserved aid, both financial and military to the Burmese Government. Britain has a legal or contractual justification for so doing. The second course would be to help the Karens give the finishing blow to the tottering Rangoon Government. Here, however, Britain would have to disentangle the Karens from their present connections with the Communists before whole-hearted support could safely be given. The third course would consist of meditating between the conflicting groups for a peaceful settlement. In this case, Britain would have to offer its good offices before Rangoon is captured by the Karen-Communist forces.

Whatever Britain may do in the coming weeks will have a tremendous bearing on the shape of things to come in Burma and on the general set-up of the British Commonwealth.

The Week's Business

DESPITE the dumping efforts of the Central Bank of China, only small sums of Gold Yuan notes have been recalled by the Government and, with the easy money market, quotations of gold, US dollar notes, and commodities continued to rise during the past seven days under review.

Special features during the period included: 1) a serious shortage of cash notes, 2) the sale of silver dollars by the Central Bank, 3) the reopening of the Gold Exchange on March 22, and 4) the appointment of S. Y. Liu as Minister of Finance.

As it has become very difficult for the Central Printing and Engraving Works to turn out sufficient Gold Yuan notes in denominations of GY100, GY500, and GY1,000 to meet the huge demand brought on by constantly increasing prices, the public found it almost impossible to obtain any cash notes during the past week. The situation was only slightly eased on March 22, when large numbers of GY500 and GY1,000 notes were put into circulation by the Central Bank. Premiums paid for cash notes during the week went as high as 20 percent, and many industrial and commercial firms had to take that discount in order to obtain cash to pay their workers and staff members.

In an attempt to relieve the situation, the Central Bank of China unloaded large sums of silver dollars at the rate of GY7,000 to one silver dollar with the hope that these silver dollars would be used in place of Gold Yuan notes. However, this rate was found unacceptable to the commercial banks, who claimed that many of the silver dollars were valued below GY7,000 in the open market.

With 1,000,000 silver dollars already turned over to the Central Bank by the Central Mint, it is generally believed that large amounts of these coins sooner or later will be unloaded onto the market. This should tighten the money market and recall large sums of Gold Yuan notes.

The reopening of the Gold Exchange after 13 years (the Exchange suspended business when war broke out between China and Japan in 1937) on March 22, was not considered to be anything of great importance in Shanghai's financial circles and, as a matter of fact, quotations dropped on the first day from the opening figure of GY5,500,000 to GY5,100,000 per 10 ounces. However, on the second day, the quotation picked up.

Although the reopening of the Exchange is aimed at helping to centralize trading, unify the rates, and enable the authorities to control the market, it is believed these objectives cannot be achieved unless the general economic situation improves. As long as the Central Bank cannot supply unlimited quantities of gold to meet popular demand at prices quoted in the market, there will always be a blackmarket.

The appointment of S. Y. Liu, Governor of the Central Bank of China, as Minister of Finance in the new Cabinet of Ho Ying-chin, has created the general impression that the financial reform measures introduced not long ago by Hsu Kan, the outgoing Minister, will be revised again. This will mean more confusion and more intensified deterioration of the general economic situation, as present conditions are not going to be improved by any change in the regulations.

On the whole, interest has grown in gold and US dollar notes due to reports of an imminent crossing of the Yangtze River by the Communists. Prices of commodities during the past week have failed to increase as much as those for gold and US dollar notes.

Furthermore, businessmen who looked forward to the early resumption of trade between Central and North China have now decided to unload their goods here in Shanghai as no definite news has been received for such a long time regarding the restoration of shipping service or the establishment of trade relations. The regulations on trade published by the Communists in North China during the past week were regarded by some businessmen as rather strict, and they believed that it would be more profitable to dispose of their goods in Shanghai.

Businessmen who made large sums of profits some weeks ago in exchanging goods between Hongkong and Manchuria (via Korea), are reported to have lost money in recent weeks. In the early stage of the resumption of trade between Hongkong and North Korea profits as high as 300 percent were realized by these merchants, but recently some businessmen have lost as much as two thirds of their investment.

This was said to be due to the increasing supply of industrial goods sent to Manchuria in recent weeks and the falling off of prices of Manchurian products in Hongkong. It is not expected that any progress of importance will be made regarding the development of trade between Hongkong or Central China and the Communist-controlled areas of North China and Manchuria until the restoration of peace.

The following table gives the quotations on March 16 and 23:

	Mar. 16	Mar. 23
	GY	GY
Gold	419,000	554,000
US Dollar	8,350	12,450
Clearance Certificate	6,870	10,900
Silver Dollar ..	6,200	7,900
20's Yarn	1,375,000	1,880,000
Rice	43,500	60,000
Wing On Textile	6.41	7.28

NEWS OF THE WEEK

New Cabinet Announced; Atlantic Pact Arouses World Attention

AFTER 10 days' intense work and hard bargaining, Premier Ho Ying-chin finally succeeded in setting up his new cabinet. Immediately after General Ho's appointment, there was much talk about injecting new blood into the Nationalist Government. The Legislative Yuan was particularly insistent that new faces be included if General Ho's cabinet was to be really new in substance as well as in name. The new premier himself also stressed that he would do his best to line up what might be called a "talented cabinet."

But subsequent events showed that General Ho had a very difficult time of it. The men of talent whom he was looking for declined his offers under one pretext or another. Dr. Y. C. Mei, President of Tsinghua University, refused to head the Ministry of Education and flew to Canton. Several members of Dr. W. W. Yen's peace mission did not want to have their fingers burned in the present mess. Even the office-seekers and job-hunters of the Young China and the Democratic Socialist parties, who formerly were only too eager to take any positions they could lay their hands on, thought better of it this time and decided to stand on the sidelines. As a result, General Ho had to content himself with the "next best."

The complete list of the new cabinet members is given below:

Premier .....Gen. Ho Ying-chin
Deputy Premier ....Chia Ching-teh
Economic Affairs ....Sun Yueh-chi
Interior .....Gen. Li Han-hun
Finance .....S. Y. Liu
Education .....Han Li-wu
Foreign Affairs....Fu Ping-sheung
Communications..Gen. Tuan-mu Chi
Judicial Administration .....
Chang Chih-pan
National Defense .....
Gen. Hsu Yung-chang
Mongolian, Tibetan Affairs .....
Pai Yun-ti
Overseas Chinese Affairs .....
Tai Kwei-sheng

Ministers without portfolios are: General Chang Chun, General Chang Chih-chung, Chu Chia-hua, General Ho Yao-tsu and Mo Teh-hui.

The number of ministries has been cut down from 15 to eight in accordance with the Government's plan for streamlining the Government structure in order to save money and improve administrative efficiency.

* * *

New Roles, Old Faces

AN inspection of the personnel of the new cabinet indicates that the only former minister retaining his job is General Hsu Yung-chang, Minister of National Defense. The other ministers are "new" men. However, their faces are familiar, and they have all served under the Nationalist Government in one official capacity or another for years.

However, the new cabinet has two features that are interesting and politically significant. One is the promotion of Fu Ping-sheung, Chinese Ambassador in Moscow, to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some foreign observers took the line that Fu's appointment "has advanced the chances of an over-all Nationalist peace with the Chinese Communists." It will be recalled in this connection that sharp controversy took place inside the Kuomintang over Fu's appointment. According to *Reuter*, elements led by the peace advocates threatened to withdraw their support from Premier Ho Ying-chin unless the Chinese Ambassador to Russia was appointed. The Conservatives, fearing radical changes in Nationalist foreign policy if Fu were brought in, favored the appointment of Dr. Chang Peng-chuan, former Chinese Ambassador to Turkey.

But competent observers are inclined to think that Fu's appointment, although politically and diplomatically significant, is unlikely to lead to any immediate and drastic change in Nationalist foreign policy. It is more of a diplomatic gesture than a definite new orientation in Chinese diplomacy.

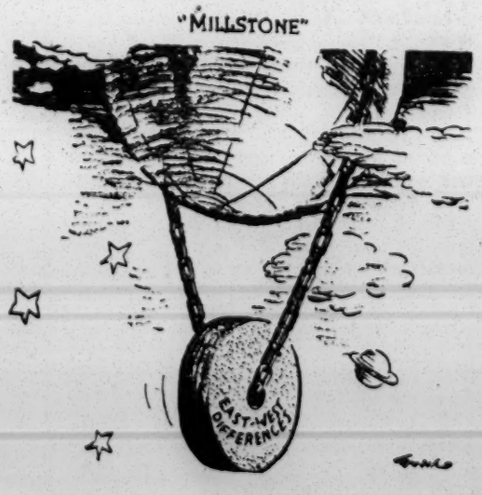
Another feature of the new cabinet is its inclusion of a good number of generals. On this point, *Reuter* commented:

"Among the new cabinet ministers are six generals besides Premier Ho himself—three with portfolios and three without. This has caused some observers to believe that the Premier has not completely overlooked the possibility of a slight prolongation of the active phase of the civil war. Authoritative circles, analyzing the cabinet list, held that General Ho was prompted by a desire to strengthen his military position in negotiating with the Communists."

KMT Veto

WITH the successful formation of General Ho Ying-chin's new cabinet, some long-standing disputes have again come to a head. The problem of whether the Kuomintang's right of veto over the Government shall be maintained became an important issue in China's domestic politics. Undercurrents of opposition to the power of the Central Standing Committee of the Kuomintang over Government policy have recently boiled up into the open. There were indications that those who want authority for the Government to take direct action intend to push their fight to the limit.

The joint meeting of the Control Yuan and the Legislative Yuan held in Nanking on March 20 provided the sounding board for bringing opposition to the Standing Committee out into the open. The overall aim of this campaign is the concentration of more power in the Legislative and Control Yuans and removal of the Standing Committee's power to veto the decisions of the Executive Yuan. Legislators who spoke up in favor of eliminating this means by which the Kuomintang acts as the real governing agency of China argued that efforts to meet with the Communists on a common ground for peace would be speeded and simplified by modification of existing laws and rules to permit direct action. Reference of all Government policy steps to the Standing Committee, they contended, not only causes long delay when speed is necessary, but at the same time continues in existence one of the reasons for the Communists' stubborn objection to talking peace with the Government as now constituted. Instead, it was argued, the Executive, Legislative and Control Yuans should work jointly toward a program that could be submitted direct across a peace table without undergoing review by party leaders before becoming effective. The movement, how-



The Christian Science Monitor

ever, is certain to meet with stubborn opposition from Kuomintang leaders both in and out of the Government. The *United Press* reported:

"The visit to Canton by General Chang Chun to confer with Central Committee members there was rumored connected with the issue of party control, but there was no official confirmation other than the known fact that Chang Chun conferred with top members of the committee there."

* * *

Atlantic Pact

THE text of the projected Atlantic Pact, as issued on March 18 in seven major capitals of the world, threw a bombshell into the already strained world international situation. The lineup in the cold war between East and West has become more solidified than ever before. The pact contains 13 articles binding each of the signatories to go to the aid of any member who becomes the object of attack with "such actions as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force." Article Five reads: "The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently they agree that, if such armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."

The signatories also agreed to consult together in the event of a threat to the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties. The 20-year pact is expected to be signed in Washington on April 4 by seven nations, including the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Canada, Luxembourg and Holland. Five other nations—Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Portugal and Italy—have been invited to join.

* * *

Military Alliance

MOST observers agree that the Atlantic Pact is an iron-clad military alliance directed against Russia and its allies. It is the military aspects of the pact that have aroused attention and suspicion. On the same day the text of the pact was made public, official quarters in London pointed out that the effectiveness of the Atlantic Pact will be determined by the creation of a joint military machine "capable of deterring a potential aggressor." It was further disclosed that, as far as organization is concerned, the hard core of this machine already exists in three bodies. They are:

The Combined Chiefs of Staff (America, Britain, Canada), a relic of wartime cooperation, with its seat in Washington;

The American-Canadian Joint Defense Board, created before the United States entered World War II; and

The Permanent Military Organization of the Western Union, set up under the Brussels Treaty.

The aims of the Atlantic Union will have been achieved, observers believe, when the functions of these bodies are coordinated and, above all, when each of the members of the Atlantic Union has recruited, armed and trained forces sufficient to implement the overall paper plans which the various staffs have already started to formulate. The immediate establishment of a Defense Committee to recommend measures for implementing the principles of self-help and mutual aid and of joint action against aggression is provided for in Article Nine of the pact. This committee is expected to be set up during the signing ceremony in Washington next month, so as to enable it to begin work as soon as the treaty is ratified. The immediate tasks to be fulfilled by the committee are said to be the following:

ABOUT PREMIER

CHINA'S new premier, General Ho Ying-chin, is one of the many imponderables in the current preparations for peace talks with the Chinese Communists. No one knows for sure what course General Ho will take or what lies behind his selection at this present time, but there are many, and conflicting, theories.

Some commentators point to the fact that he has the confidence of both Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Acting President Li Tsung-jen and can therefore unite the various factions in the Kuomintang in conducting peace negotiations. Others say that if peace is impossible and war must be resumed, General Ho is the best man to conduct the fighting.

Supporters of Li Tsung-jen believe that Ho will obtain the backing of a number of top Nationalist generals for the drive to make peace with the Communists. Others are convinced that Ho's appointment was made because the Generalissimo felt he would prevent Nanking from agreeing to "unacceptable" peace terms.

It is claimed by some that General Ho has the respect of the Communists and that they will deal with him on the basis of mutual confidence and respect. Others point to the fact that Ho is included in the Communists' list of "war criminals" and that the Communist radio commented on his appointment by saying that he was only a "henchman of Chiang Kai-shek, who is pulling the strings behind the scene."

In fact, General Ho seems to have the quality of being all things to all people. But the fact he has been able to remain prominent in Chinese political affairs for more than two decades testifies to a certain political agility.

General Ho was born in Kweichow province in 1889 and was educated in the Japanese Military Academy in Tokyo, the same school Chiang Kai-shek attended. He became dean of the Whampoa Military Academy in Canton in 1924 and commanded troops (including Communists) in the successful Northern Expedition. In 1927, General Ho, together with Li Tsung-jen and Pai Chung-hsi, defeated the old war lords Sun Chuang-fang and Chang Tsung-ch'ang in a decisive battle between Shanghai and Nanking which gave Chiang Kai-shek control of the Yangtze Valley.

Ho was made Minister of Military Affairs in 1930 and was active in the "bandit suppression campaigns" against the Communists in the years that followed. When the Young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang, kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek in 1936, Ho Ying-chin was named commander-in-chief of the expeditionary forces against the rebels.

It is reported that General Ho at this time wanted to bomb Sian, where the Generalissimo was being held, but was dissuaded. There is a theory that Ho was more interested in getting the Generalissimo killed by one of the bombs, or by his captors in retaliation for the bombing, than in rescuing him. Whatever the case may be, Chiang Kai-shek never fully trusted Ho after that, and the two had an open difference of opinion in 1938, when Ho advocated peace with Japan while the Generalissimo insisted that the war go on.

Ho continued to be Minister of National Defense, however, until General Joseph W. Stilwell managed to have him ousted because Stilwell felt he was sabotaging efforts to reorganize the Chinese armies so that they could fight more effectively against Japan.

Since General Ho's name now figures in discussions of reorganizing the Nationalist armies, it is interesting to recall what General Stilwell had to say about him, as retold in "The Stilwell Papers": "This morning I got a long letter from him (General Ho) telling me some boxes had been broken, and also a bottle of iodine. Explained the procedure he would like us to follow in similar cases. This guy is (ex officio) a combined Henry L. Stimson, George C. Marshall, and political power, and he worries about a bottle of iodine. He pays no attention whatever to the preparations of the Chinese army for a vital campaign, but gets eloquent because a bottle of iodine is spilled in India. The colossal ignorance of responsible officials is simply amazing."

Another time, General Stilwell said "the only way to handle him

1. A decision on total overall strength of the Atlantic Union;
2. A decision on what proportion of this total in men and material should be provided by each member state out of its own resources, or in the shape of aid, primarily from the United States;
3. A decision on how the newly-invited powers are to be brought into the existing planning organization;
4. Necessary legislature by individual member governments to render effective the above decisions.

Supply Of Arms

INFORMED sources in Washington revealed that portions of the plan to help rearm Atlantic Powers will be submitted to President Truman for final approval and made public within ten days. Responsible officials of the State Department and the three service departments have been ordered to speed up their drafting of arms plans. According to these sources, Congress will be asked to furnish US$1,000,000,000 to US$2,000,000,000 worth of munitions to other countries in the first year of the pact's operations. The bulk of the munitions would consist of artillery, tanks, anti-tank guns and other heavy ground equipment. The United States would not lend-lease its big bombers such as B-36 and the world-girdling B-50. Britain and France would be asked to supply many of the planes, including jet fighters, needed for the defense of the treaty area. The United States will not give out atomic bombs.

Coinciding with this imposing display of military might, the State Department in a White Paper warned the "men in the Kremlin" that it would be dangerous for them to under-estimate the West's power and determination to "take united action" against any attack. The Department said it wanted to dispel "serious misconceptions" in the minds of leaders of the Soviet Union "about the physical and moral strength of Western democracies."

* * *

Pro and Con

THE Atlantic Pact was hailed by the Government leaders of the West as an "outstanding" contribution toward world peace. President Truman described the pact as a step toward permanent peace. British Foreign Secretary Bevin felt much relieved and safe under the protection of the pact. He said: "This new pact brings us under a wider roof of security."

But opposition leaders in the United States and Britain thought different. Henry Wallace regarded the pact as tending to increase the war danger. Republican Senator George Malone expressed the isolationist view in America when he said: "What we are proposing to do is to freeze colonial possessions all over the world. As a next step we are going to be asked to furnish arms to subdue the people of Asia and Africa. And if the colonial powers get into trouble we will have to defend them. This pact will change our traditional policy, which has been that we never go to war unless our own security is threatened. What we would be doing in this pact is to commit ourselves to go to war to aid some nation that says it is threatened, when our own security may not be involved at all."

British Communist leader Harry Pollitt branded the pact as a "war pact directed against the peoples of Europe" and "as binding Britain to the aggressive war aims of American imperialism."

Communists and Socialists in Italy also voiced violent protest against Italian intention to join the pact, and Italian workers have called strikes throughout the country.

Russia condemned the pact as "a deceptive instrument of war" aimed at Russia. The Russian press said the treaty was the work of warmongers who are trying to wreck the United Nations Organization. They called the pact "the main weapon of the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of the United States, Britain and France."

HO YING-CHIN

(General Ho) is to tell him he is the most wonderful man in the world. A terribly conceited little monkey."

Although General Ho remained inactive for a period after this, he was brought back to the national scene on the eve of VJ Day, when he was named commander-in-chief of the Chinese armies. He was serving in this capacity during the time when General George C. Marshall was attempting to mediate between the Nanking and the Communists, and General Marshall, feeling that Ho was blocking efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement, succeeded in having him sent abroad.

In this connection, there has been much speculation as to how acceptable General Ho would be to the Communists in conducting peace talks at this time. It is also recalled that in 1940 it was General Ho who ordered the famous assault on the Chinese New Fourth Army, which was operating behind Japanese lines south of the Yangtze river. The Communists demanded then that he be punished for this breach of the "united anti-Japanese front."

However, many people believe General Ho underwent a change of heart while abroad. He was sent to the United States to be the Chinese military representative to the United Nations. While there, he studied American politics and theories of government and wrote several letters to General Pai Chung-hsi, then Deputy Chief-of-Staff in Nanking, commenting on his favorable impressions of democracy and "responsible government." These letters were mimeographed and distributed among officers in the Ministry of National Defense. He also became interested in the Moral Rearmament movement.

When he returned to China last year, General Ho became fairly close friends with General Pai Chung-hsi. Partly this was because General Pai had kept most of Ho's faithful followers in their jobs at the Ministry of National Defense instead of firing them and replacing them with his own men. And partly it was due to the fact that Generals Pai and Ho were united in their common dislike for General Cheng Cheng, who, as Chief-of-Staff, had bypassed General Pai in the Ministry of National Defense, and as leader of the Pao-ting group, had long been a rival of General Ho's Whampoa clique.

After his return, General Ho stayed out of politics, although he supported Li Tsung-jen for vice president in spite of the fact that he would normally have been expected to support Chiang Kai-shek's candidate, Sun Fo.

Last fall, Chiang asked Ho to become premier. But Ho did not accept because the Generalissimo would not give him the authority he wanted. Ho reportedly had asked for full power to reorganize the government and for complete authority over Nationalist Army field commanders.

General Ho now occupies a peculiar position. Although he has no personal armies which could be used to support Acting President Li, he has considerable influence among other Nationalist generals who do have armies. While ordinarily these ties would give him considerable power, things are disintegrating so fast that most generals are now primarily concerned with preserving their own positions and cannot necessarily be counted on to follow their old loyalties.

Many Chinese believe General Ho is now more far sighted than many of his military colleagues. They think he has been one of the first generals to realize that the Communists can not be defeated militarily and to advocate that the Kuomintang, if it is to preserve any of its power, undergo a complete government reorganization and social and political reorientation while trying to make peace with the Communists.

Whatever the real facts of the situation, there is general agreement that Ho Ying-chin faces an enormous task. The next few weeks will determine whether he can unify a government that is split between Nanking and Canton and draft a peace program that will be acceptable to both the Nationalists and Communists. And they should also indicate whether General Ho will decide to continue conscripting troops to continue the war or reorganize and reduce the Army to peacetime size.

Chinese Magazine Roundup

New Hope

THE *New Hope* magazine of March 14 notes that Sun Fo's resignation as president of the Executive Yuan has widened the rift inside the Kuomintang. According to the magazine, the appointment of General Ho Ying-chin as successor to Sun Fo was designed to patch up whatever differences there are between the conflicting factions of the Kuomintang and the Government.

"At this critical juncture, when there is the likelihood of internal split and ultimate collapse, Acting President Li Tsung-jen made the inspired move of nominating General Ho Ying-chin to be the next premier of China," the magazine says.

"General Ho Ying-chin is known for his ability to maintain good relationships with all around him. As he is also one who enjoys the confidence of President Chiang, a better man cannot be found to forestall any possible internal rift. Militarily, as the greater part of the military leaders at present in South China are either former pupils or subordinates of General Ho, there can be little danger of acts of rebellions once he decides to take the helm. Politically speaking, Ho has never been known to have come into open conflict with the CC Clique and he has always been on very good terms with the Political Science Group, while he also has overwhelming influence with both the Whampoa clique and the Youth Corps group. Coupled with the fact that General Ho is a good friend of the acting President, a Ho cabinet should be able to unite all the different cliques within the KMT, or at least to prevent them from making an open split. . . .

"Because of Ho's good relationship with Chiang, he will also be able to get along well with the 'Crown Prince clique' when he becomes the premier. In case nothing very much out of the ordinary happens, he might be able to prevent the followers of Dr. Sun Fo from taking any extreme course of action, or at least he will be able to soften any possible split."

However, the magazine warns the public against expecting too much of General Ho in handling the present highly delicate situation. The reasons, as advanced by the journal, are two in number. First, General Ho is a moderate who cannot be expected to take drastic action. Second, he is not trusted by the Communists.

"General Ho Ying-chin is not generally supposed to be a man capable of drastic actions," the magazine says. "In this respect we shall most probably be disappointed if we look to him alone for carrying out thoroughgoing military and political reforms. And, as the General is a total stranger to economic affairs, he apparently is also not to be expected to be capable of improving the prevailing chaotic economic conditions to any appreciable degree. The one thing we are sure that General Ho would be able to accomplish is that things will definitely not get worse than they are now.

"On the other hand, as General Ho has been listed by the Communists as one of the so-called war criminals, he cannot be taken as enjoying the confidence of the opposing camp."

In the event of a breakdown of the forthcoming peace negotiations between the Government and the Chinese Communists, General Ho Ying-chin will be better able to deal with that eventuality than a man like Sun Fo, according to the magazine, which says:

"The Government is not prepared to consider total surrender. Having partly recovered from the tumult and turmoil of some two and a half months ago, the Government is now less inclined to yield abjectly to Communist pressure. Whereas, the Communists, at a time when they have been carrying everything before them by force of arms, naturally are reluctant to forsake the idea of attaining their goal by military conquest. For the past month, a great deal of troop movements have been observed throughout Communist territories north of the Yangtze. Communist forces of Generals Chen Yi, Chen Keng and Su Yu have been concentrated along the north bank of the Yangtze, while the crack troops of General Lin Piao have been shifted southwards to the plains of the Hwai River and the Yangtze areas. Insofar as the Communists evidently intend to advance to regions south of the Yangtze and are preparing to start fighting as soon as negotiations break up, General Ho Ying-chin is without doubt better suited to the job than Dr. Sun Fo, if unfortunately the worse should happen."

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Many Voices

THE *Many Voices* weekly of March 12 says that the United States has abandoned all hope of reaching a compromise with the Chinese Communists and has decided to extend new aid to the Nationalists so that the latter may be able to continue the fight against Communism.

"With Nanking gradually recovering its position as the political center of China and with the prospects of peace brightening day by day, more encouraging tidings about American aid are also heard," the magazine says. "Officials of the American Embassy in Nanking have been observed to be in constant contact with high Chinese military and civil officials. It is also alleged that the period for making use of some $100,000,000 that is left over from American aid funds shall be extended. All these measures on the part of the American Government cannot be taken as entirely unconnected with the peace talks.

"From the very beginning, the Government has banked on the hope of American aid in its recent drive for peace. Traces of American support can easily be found in Hoffman's statement made before his departure from Shanghai last year, and in the fact that, just before Dr. Sun Fo consented to assume the premiership, Ambassador Stuart repeatedly asked him to try by all means to achieve total peace. The reason for America to ask Sun Fo to work for peace can be easily seen by looking at America's present policy towards China.

"With regard to America's policy towards China, it goes without saying that she would like to have China remain forever completely under American influence. This policy has been in force ever since the days of the PCC, but unfortunately the utter inefficiency and corruption of the Chinese Government has proved to be a great disappointment to the United States. Beginning from the fall of 1947, when the military situation rapidly took a turn for the worse, the disillusioned US was forced to change its stand in order to slow down the headlong deterioration of the Chinese situation.

Then, from another angle, a most important consideration in formulating America's China policy necessarily lies in the problem of protecting American interests in China. According to the United States, America's prevailing volume of trade with China amounts to some US$-400,000,000 a year, and it is not to be expected that America will easily foresake the Chinese market. In the unfortunate case that the control of China should be taken from the KMT by the Chinese Communists, all American interests in China would inevitably be lost.

That was why, right after the start of the movement for local peace in the Peiping and Shanghai regions, America, still hoping against hope that the Chinese Communists might give adequate protection to American interests, tried to persuade the Chinese Government to work for peace. However, after local peace was finally established in Peiping, various measures implemented by the Communists turned out to be very far from what had been expected by the US. In disappointment, the US naturally began to lose faith in the prospects of a coalition government under Communist domination. Thus, the American Government has once more changed its mind and is turning to support the prevailing Government in China by means of American aid."

US Magazine Roundup

The Nation

FREDA Kirchwey, writing in the February 19th issue of *The Nation*, discusses the Chase National Bank's recent loan to Spain's Francisco Franco. "Twenty-five million dollars isn't much money as loans to governments go these days," writes Miss Kirchwey, "but when the Chase National Bank lent that sum to Franco the other day, it gave him what he needed most. It gave him the chance to present himself at home and abroad as a dictator who is no longer a pariah. It gave him the right to claim 1) that he is back in the good graces of the State Department, and 2) that he is considered, if not a first-class risk, a suitable recipient of American dollars. The Chase Bank loan will not go far to revive Spain's moribund economy; but it is an opening wedge. Even now, I understand, a second, larger loan is being considered by another New York bank, and an *AP* dispatch from Madrid reports that Spanish representatives may be leaving soon for Washington to try to get help from the Export-Import Bank.

"It is significant, I am afraid, that the press reported the Chase loan only in passing and followed with a brief note from Washington quoting Secretary Acheson to the effect that the loan was a private one indicating no change of attitude in the State Department. The intention, plainly, is to minimize the affair as much as possible.... and so to prevent any sharp public reaction....

"Even a year ago, announcement of the loan to Franco would have touched off explosions of protest and speculation; today, no one bothers to challenge Mr. Acheson's assertion that private banks are free to lend where they please. Technically accurate this may be, but anyone even distantly acquainted with financial practices knows that no great bank would lend one dollar to a foreign government agency without making sure it had the approval of the State Department; still less in the case of a foreign state, ostensibly in the department's black books, which has been censured by the United Nations and from which this country has withdrawn its ambassador."

Miss Kirchwey declares that "until the loan was granted, the Spanish government was financially all but on the rocks." Bankers and other official representatives of the regime, she says, have reported that Franco needs US$250,000,000. A year ago, she recalls, Spanish missions came to the United States looking for money but "went home with empty hands and no encouragement from Washington."

Now, she adds, "much has changed. The cold war is more bitter; its lines are more sharply drawn.... And during the last six months.... American politicians and military men have booked passage for Madrid, where they have talked with Franco and come away openly advocating a quick reversal of American policy toward Spain....

"For ten years, the Spanish people have suffered under a fascist rule planted on their necks with the acquiescence of the Western democracies. The war which, with fatal logic, followed the fascist victory in Spain, ended in the defeat of Franco's allies, but not of Franco; in the liberation of the Western democracies, but not of the Spanish people. Everyone agrees that Franco could have been toppled out of power in 1945 if the victorious Allies had taken a firm stand.... His present desperate financial crisis offered a new possibility of change....Now, not even this is likely to happen. Franco again has been reprieved.

"Liberal and labor forces in America must shake off their preoccupation with more intimate issues and realize what this means. It will be their fault if the Administration they elected to office decides to prop up the decrepit Franco as it is trying to prop up the right-wing blackmarketeers of Greece."

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Business Week

AMERICAN businessmen were advised, in the February 12th issue of *Business Week*, to make allowances in their future plans for the possibility of better relations with Russia. In an article entitled "From Cold War to Cold Peace?", the magazine says while the State Department will not take Stalin's "peace feelers" seriously until the North Atlantic pact is safely ratified, "for the businessman, right now, it isn't Washington's feelings that matter; its Stalin's. And there is some evidence that Stalin actually is eager to get off the hook of the cold war."

Until the situation clarifies, the article says, "any long-term business plan that's based on continuation of the cold war needs to have an escape clause in it. It must allow for the drastic shifts in the domestic outlook which would result from a major change in the international picture."

The magazine continues: "As things stand, the prospect over the coming years is for a constantly increasing military budget. But suppose the pressure of these military expenditures were relieved some time fairly soon.

"Today the prospect of ever-rising military spending acts: 1) as a sort of guarantee against any drastic deflation of the economy; 2) as a ceiling on the ambitious social-welfare projects that the Truman Administration has its heart set on; and 3) as a distorting force that might warp the economy into patterns that would prove completely unworkable in a peaceful world.

"A constant or declining military budget would change all that.

"President Truman would have more financial elbow room for his welfare programs, public works, and resource-developing projects. The threat of inflation would recede to the remote horizon. The threat of deflation would mount."

The magazine then speculates on what such a shift in policy would mean for the US businessman. From a short-term viewpoint, it says, it would not be too painful: "The big immediate effect of any East-West settlement would be to remove the worst threat of inflation—open-ended military spending. The present uneasy balance, with its gentle tilt toward inflation, would continue. Eventually the scales might swing sharply down. But if they did, they would be moving under their own weight, not in response to the change in the international situation.

"Of course, there would be a psychological shock to business. Companies that have counted on military spending to keep the country going full blast would have to take a new and more critical look at their markets. Some might decide to postpone expansion plans. Others might get worried about their inventories. Business in general would be more cautious, less confident that the boom was going to last."

But from a long-term point of view, the magazine says, the economy of the country would be changed "profoundly." President Truman would substitute welfare spending for military spending, and, according to the article, there is a tremendous difference between "welfare pump-priming and military pump-priming."

"Military spending," it explains, "doesn't really alter the structure of the economy. It goes through regular channels. As far as a businessman is concerned, a munitions order from the Government is much like an order from a private customer.

"But the kind of welfare and public-works spending that Truman plans does alter the economy. It makes new channels of its own. It creates new institutions. It redistributes income. It shifts demand from one industry to another. It changes the whole economic pattern. That's its object.

"The shifts in Government spending that would come with an end of the cold war would make a lot of difference to individual industries. They would make a tremendous difference to business in general.

"It is the possibility of these shifts that business plans now have to take into account."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE Chinese press looked to the future of General Ho Ying-chin's new cabinet with a mixture of hope and skepticism. Reaction to the projected Atlantic Pact was divided, while a similar pact for the Pacific was suggested.

* * *

New Cabinet

THE *Ta Kung Pao* noted some differences between General Ho's cabinet and the cabinets of the past.

"The Ho Cabinet differs from its several predecessors both in organization and in personnel," the paper said. "The Sun Fo Cabinet, for instance, consisted of 15 Ministries, three Commissions, and one Bureau, but these departments have been amalgamated and reduced into only eight Ministries and two Commissions. In the past, the number of administrative units under the Executive Yuan was really too large and in view of the stringent financial position of the Government, the process of amalgamation, reduction and simplification should have been undertaken long ago.

"Moreover, in the present Ho Cabinet, there are, compared with the preceding Sun Cabinet, fewer Kuo mintang leaders with high influence within the Party, and this reduction has not necessarily been due to the reduction of the number of ministries. This change is significant.

The paper, however, pointed out that the fate of the new cabinet will be determined in the last analysis by its policies, and expressed the hope that the cabinet will be a peace cabinet."

* * *

Atlantic Pact

THE proposed Atlantic Pact was hailed by Kuomintang-controlled papers as a victory for the West in its efforts to preserve world peace, but it was denounced by independent papers as a step forward in the direction of war.

The Kuomintang organ, *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, held that the United States has scored a big victory in bringing the Atlantic Pact to a successful conclusion.

"The Atlantic Pact may be considered a victory for the United States in the cold war," the paper said. "But precisely because the present situation is so patent and tense, the successful conclusion of the Atlantic Pact will be a thorn in the eyes of the Soviet Union. . .

"In their resistance to the expansion of the Iron Curtain, the Western countries first put up the Marshall Plan, economic in nature; it was followed by the Western Union, political in implication. And now that the Atlantic Pact is concluded, the opposition between the two camps has been carried further to the stage of military opposition.

"For in the eyes of the Eastern Bloc, the new Pact cannot but be looked upon as a military alliance of of a threatening nature. The Soviet Union on January 30 issued a special statement severely criticizing the Atlantic Pact. The Communist Parties of Europe and America immediately came out to issue clearcut statements voicing opposition to the conclusion of the Pact, and expressing their readiness to fight for the Soviet Union. All these developments show that with the stimulant provided by the new Pact, the struggle between the Eastern and Western Blocs has become more acute. In the circumstances, naturally there is general anxiety over world peace."

The *Ta Kung Pao* viewed the pact as a war instrument, saying: "As is known to everybody, the objective of the United States in her sponsorship of the Atlantic Pact is the resistance of the Soviet Union, the promotion of war preparations, and the consolidation of her world hegemony. The leadership of the Pact obviously is held in the hands of the United States who has formed a bloc with the British countries. The Atlantic Pact is the principal instrument with which the US-British Bloc is to consolidate its world hegemony. In setting up army, navy and air bases around the Soviet Union, the military nature of the Atlantic Pact is fully revealed, and it is impossible to conceal its hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union and other East European nations. This of course is entirely in keeping with the world policy pursued by the United States and Britain."

In the view of the paper, the pact is doomed to failure.

"In the first place," says the editorial, "it violates the basic spirit underlying the United Nations Charter in the creation of belligerent blocs outside the United Nations structure. The participants in the Pact, moreover, are really none other than the super-rich of Wall Street, the imperialists of Western Europe, Fascist Portugal and Spain, Monarchist Greece, and politically backward Turkey. Such an alliance is devoid of spiritual significance, and is incompatible with the new world situation today.

"In the second place, the Atlantic Pact will produce, within the various signatory nations, internal splits of a serious nature. There will be the opposition of the people against the government in each country, and dissension within the ranks of the governments themselves. The Atlantic Pact may bind together the ruling classes of these countries, but in failing to unite the peoples of these countries, it has no access to any real strength.

"Again, the strength possessed by the participating nations is limited. The United States, though superficially strong is internally weak, and an economic crisis may be due soon. The West European countries are all economically instable and militarily weak, so that they can only form a 'paper' front.

"Lastly, at a time when the Atlantic Pact is being completed, the peace movements on the part of various peoples are gaining in strength, and this force against war must not be ignored."

* * *

Pacific Pact

A SIMILAR pact for the Pacific was demanded by Kuomintang papers, which stressed the important position China would hold in such a pact.

The *Tung Nan Jih Pao* argued that, from the standpoint of the global resistance to communism, a Pacific Pact is needed as complement to the Atlantic Pact.

The *Shun Pao* raised what it called four prerequisites and particularly called the attention of the major Powers to China's position as the only stabilizing force in the Pacific area. Its editorial said:

"In the first place, the United States should change her present policy of attaching importance to Europe to the neglect of Asia. She should transfer her center of diplomatic activities from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But we see that the United States is still expecting Britain to assume greater responsibility in the Far East . . .

"In the second place, Britain's views on the Pacific Pact appear to stress the security of her own dominions in Southeast Asia, and she has no long-range plans for the whole of Asia. Her attitude toward the Chinese Communists, moreover, is basically at variance with her motive in the promotion of the Pacific Pact.

"In the third place, China is the sole stabilizing factor in the Pacific region. Any machinery for regional security, whether in the form of a Pacific Pact or a Southeast Asia Alliance, if organized without the participation of China, cannot be expected to produce great effects. Accordingly, whatever plans may be considered for Asia by the United States and Britain, it is necessary that measures be first taken to stabilize the China situation, and to prevent the whole of China from falling into the complete control of the Communist Party . . .

"In the fourth place, India Premier Nehru does not seem to be very enthusiastic about the Pacific Pact, and he has actually indicated his opposition to it. After studying his motives, we consider that his views merit the close attention of the United States and Britain. It must be known that the present age is the Age of Asia, and the nations of Asia must no longer be treated as colonial possessions as in the past. If the United States and Britain can give facts to allay the anxieties of Nehru, then both India and Pakistan will be ready to participate in the Pacific Pact."

What US Papers Say

COMMENT on the North Atlantic Pact dominated editorial columns and was predominantly favorable Other topics included Ho Ying-chin's appointment as premier and the mounting difficulties in Burma.

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Pact For Peace

NATION-WIDE editorial comment supported the objectives of the North Atlantic Pact as a positive move to maintain peace. The *New York Times* said in part:

"In keeping with the democratic tradition which pays decent respect to the opinions of mankind and calls for open covenants openly arrived at, the Western Powers now submit the text of the momentous North Atlantic security pact to the judgment of their own people and of the world . . .

"It is in the exercise of the right of self-defense that they have made this pact. The pact itself menaces no nation that does not threaten others. Its ultimate purpose is not to prepare for war but to save the peace by restoring a balance of power which will discourage aggression. . .

"As Secretary of State Acheson points out, the experience of two world wars in less than half a century has taught us that unless the democracies stand together in defense of their heritage they are doomed to fall one by one. In this clear fact lies the justification both for the radical departure in traditional American policy which the pact represents and for the additional sacrifices which the United States will have to take upon itself as the arsenal of the democracies."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* viewed the pact as the most effective way of conveying the Western nations' determination to protect their rights of self-defense. The paper said:

"If this program is carried out in a manner to manifest only the determination of the participants to defend their sovereignty and their principles in concert, it may well prove the positive deterrent to war that we hope. We are gambling here that the present composite temperament of the Kremlin is not unlike that of the schoolyard bully, who will carry intimidation as far as he can, but back down when it appears that further belligerence will involve him in a fight he may not win."

The *New York Herald Tribune* observed: "The North Atlantic pact cannot, of itself, insure peace and stability in the world. It has expectations and limitations and there is no certainty that, even apart from these, a great power might not defy the collective force of the North Atlantic community. But it does express the decision of many nations that peace is worth defending and their resolve that no future aggressor will smash them, one by one, after the pattern that Hitler set. . .

"No nation that respects the rights of its neighbors need fear the pact; only a guilty conscience could see a threat in its terms."

The *Washington Post* criticized the decision to broaden the pact beyond the original negotiators and supported another course of action, saying: "Without a doubt some military agreement is necessary. Of that the facts of the world situation afford ample proof . . . The question lay in means. A wiser and less complicated course than a comprehensive alliance of the nature that is now before the American people —assuming the need for comprehensiveness—would have been the plan suggested by Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs*. Armstrong had proposed that the Soviet-created gap in the Charter be filled by a new pledge of consultation and action in case the Security Council was veto-tied in enforcement.

"This could have been worked out simultaneously with the development of the original Atlantic community."

* * *

New Premier

THE *Boston Herald*, commenting on Ho Ying-chin's appointment as premier, advocated a continued American policy of watchful waiting, saying:

"The appointment of General Ho Ying-chin as premier has created at least a temporary feeling of optimism in Nanking. He is said to be a sincere advocate of peace with the Communists and, despite the fact that his name is high on the Communist list of 'war criminals,' he is considered 'capable of achieving success' in negotiations with them.

"Whether this optimism is justified remains to be seen. Part of Acting President Li Tsung-jen's satisfaction obviously flows from the knowledge that the appointment strengthens his position vis-a-vis Chiang Kai-shek. The general succeeds Dr. Sun Fo, Chiang appointee, who was compelled to resign by the Legislative Yuan for removing the Government to Canton. Formerly Chiang's defense minister and chief of staff, General Ho has recently cooled toward the Generalissimo. His strong personal influence with the Army is expected to bring important waverers back to the support of the Li government.

"But a strong National Government, if not hostile to the idea of peace, may well prove more successful in achieving it. General Ho, though anti-Communist, is an advocate of sweeping political and economic reforms for China. He might well find a basis for agreement with more national-minded Chinese Communists like Mao Tse-tung, and such an agreement is now a virtual necessity for China.

"The American role must continue to be one of watchful waiting. General Ho is quite pro-American as a result of the two years he spent here as chief of the Chinese military mission since the war. And that attitude might be most helpful to us later, if we refrain from the wrong kind of interference now."

* * *

Burma Disorders

THE *Baltimore Sun* declared Burma's disturbances could have serious repercussions in Asiatic rice-eating countries. An editorial titled, "Burma Finds Independence Hard Going", said:

"Burma, whose independence was declared on January 4, 1948, is learning the hard way about the responsibilities that go with self-government. During the last year the country has scarcely known a day of peace. Whether the present government can survive is a matter of grave concern.

"If the situation were normal, Burma would have a good chance of survival. Ordinarily there is a large rice surplus that helps to feed India, Ceylon, Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies. Burma's forests, oil and other mineral deposits are potential sources of wealth. But their exploitation depends upon a stable government and internal order.

"No sooner had the independent government been established than leftist forces with Communist elements were in open rebellion, cutting communications and penetrating to the suburbs of the capital city of Rangoon. When, in September, the Government appeared to have the Communist situation in control, it was confronted with an equally serious threat from the Karen tribesmen.

"The Karens are a subdivision of the Burmese, a fierce mountain people. Many of them are Christians, which adds to the difficulty of their coming to terms with their Buddhist brethren. Their objective is an independent state of their own. Joining forces for the time being at least with the Communists, they, too, for the last six months have engaged in open warfare with the Government and are now in Mandalay . . .

"Meanwhile, disorder has reduced the rice export and the production of oil and timber. Keeping an army in the field against the rebels also has been a costly undertaking. A few months ago the Treasury showed a budget deficit of some $35,000,000. . .

"Aside from the effect on its own people, the disturbances in Burma are capable of having serious repercussions in the countries which depend on it for rice and which are having their own internal troubles. India, Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies are none too happy over a neighbor whose house is so far from being in order."

The Review's English Lesson—LXXV

THIS week's Lesson, a review of some pronounciation and spelling rules, is contributed by Mrs. Shirley R. Huang.

* * *

WHEN I was in primary school, classes in spelling were part of the regular course of study. Of course, once I had learned to spell correctly, I forgot all the rules. Then, many years later, I came to China and started teaching English. All of a sudden, I discovered that rules can be very useful. I dug a few of them from the back of my mind, brushed them off, and am passing them on to you.

One rule was very easy to remember because it rhymed: **i** before **e**, except after **c**. That is when you are trying to decide whether to spell the word **ei** or **ie**. For example, believe, but receive. There are always exceptions to rules, particularly in English, and some exceptions to this rule are words with a long **a** sound, e.g. (for example) eight, weight: and words with a long **i** sound, e.g. sleight.

When adding an ending to a word ending in **y**, the **y** is changed to an **i**. When adding an **s** ending, change the **y** to an **i** and add **es**, e.g. try-tries-trial, fly-flies, country-countries, lovely-lovelier.

* * *

YOU notice that these spelling rules, when read backwards, can help you with pronunciation. Watch the next rule:

When a word ends in a single vowel-consonant (in which case the vowel is short), double the consonant before adding an ending. Now, when you see a word with a double consonant, the preceding vowel is short.

When a word ends in a vowel-consonant-**e** (in which case the **e** is silent and only there to show that the vowel is long) you drop the **e** before adding an ending. Thus, when you see a word with a single consonant before an ending, the root vowel is long.

These two rules apply particularly to verbs. Here are some examples: write, wrote, writing all long root vowels) written (short **i**); hit (no final **e**, so the **i** is short): ride, rode, riding, ridden; rid (to get rid of) ridded. Some other words with a short vowel-double consonant combination are lettuce (a kind of green cabbage), impress, supply, irrespective.

* * *

OF the five vowels, **i** and **e** are "soft" and **a**, **o**, and **u** are "hard." The pronunciation of **c** and **g** depends on the following vowel. If they are followed by **e** or **i**, the **c** has a soft **s** sound (ceiling, city) and the **g** a soft **j** sound (general, regional). There are very common exceptions to this rule: give and get are both hard **g** sounds. Followed by **a**, **o** and **u**, the **c** has a hard **k** sound, and the **g** a hard sound: cat, cope, cut; gas, goose, gully. Usually, to get a hard **g** sound with an **e** or **i**, **u** is put between the consonant and the vowel: guerrilla, guide. For a hard **c**, **k** is used.

One rule to which there are absolutely no exceptions is that **q** is always followed by **u**.

Y, **i** and **j** are triplets. They were all three born together. Before the printing press standardized the forms of letters, people wrote pretty much as they pleased, each shaping his letters in a different manner. So you see that **j** is just **i** with a tail, and **y** is a combination of **ij**. That is why you have so many English words in which **y**, **i** and **j** are exchanged for each other.

H does funny things to pronunciation. **Gh** is sometimes not pronounced, as in bough, and sometimes pronounced like **f** as in cough, enough. **Ght** is always pronounced as **t**: bought, delight, caught. **Ph** is always pronounced as **f**: pheasant, emphatic, physical.

I think if you learn these few rules, they can help you a great deal when you have to read or write something and have no dictionary on hand.

* * *

ONE of our Shanghai readers, Miss A. L., is puzzled by a few terms appearing in the editorial "Belated Reform" in the March 19th issue.

* * *

Tick: In "....what makes the average bureaucrat tick." Literally, this means to make a continuous series of beats, or ticks, as a watch or the heart. The question, what makes a watch tick, indicates curiosity about the mechanism inside the watch responsible for the tick. Thus, by extension, what makes the average bureaucrat, or any other person tick, is to speculate on what makes him think and act as he does.

Tangling horns: "....they have avoided tangling horns with fundamentals." To avoid meeting or trying to solve fundamental issues. The term tangling horns comes from deer, or other horned animals, who settle questions by fighting with their horns. **Locked horns** is a related term, and by extension, means to engage in a controversy.

Hindsight: "With the benefit of hindsight, it is now possible to see...." Literally, the rear sight of a gun or other firearm. Used colloquially to mean perception of the nature and demands of an event after it has happened.

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